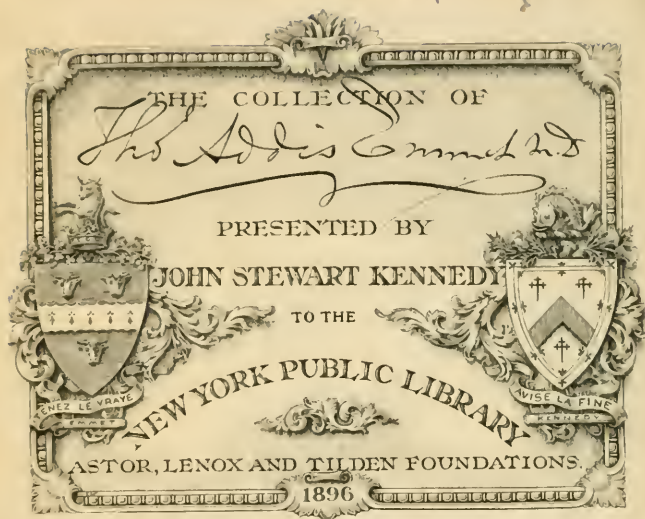


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Henry M. Wagner  
B. I.

# HISTORY

OF THE

## 104th Pennsylvania Regiment,

FROM

*August 22nd, 1861, to September 30th, 1864.*

BY

W. W. H. <sup>William Watts Hart</sup> DAVIS,

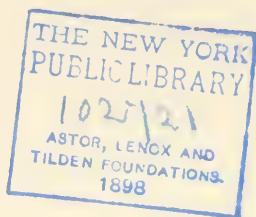
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1866.

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By W. W. H. DAVIS,

In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States, in and for the  
Eastern District of Pennsylvania.





Dedication.

To

HENRY M. NAGLEE, OF SAN JOSÉ, CAL.,  
ESQUIRE,

LATE BRIGADIER GENERAL IN THE VOLUNTEER ARMY OF THE  
UNITED STATES,

THIS VOLUME IS RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED,  
AS A TRIBUTE OF RESPECT TO HIS PATRIOTISM  
AND GALLANTRY,

BY THE

AUTHOR.

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## PREFACE.

THIS volume contains the history of the One Hundred and Fourth Pennsylvania Regiment.

When I re-entered the military service, in the fall of 1861, I became possessed of two hobbies; one, that of writing the history of my regiment, and the other, to have a monument erected to the memory of those who might fall in action, or die of wounds or disease, which I hope to be able to carry out some time in the future. The former has been accomplished in the following pages; while nearly enough money has been raised to build the latter.

This work needs no apology. It contains no wonderful exploit; but a simple narrative of the campaigns of the regiment, which has been written without passion or prejudice, and with a sincere desire to do justice to all. No doubt, many other regiments performed more brilliant service; but none bore more faithful allegiance to the great cause of the Constitution and the Union. In the qualities that make good soldiers,—discipline, respect for superiors, perfection in drill, cleanliness, steadiness under fire, freedom from pillage, and manly endurance under all the trying vicissitudes of war—the men of the 104th Pennsylvania regiment had no superiors. With this preface, the work is given to the public.

W. W. H. DAVIS.

*Doylestown, Pa., October 1st, 1866.*



T H E

## ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTH

# PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

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## CHAPTER I.

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Authority to raise a Regiment.—Commence to Recruit.—Union Meetings.—Camp-ground Selected.—Recruits go into Camp.—Supplies Arrive.—Military Instruction.—Field and Staff-officers Appointed.—Fun and Pets.—Excursions, to Danboro' and Harts-ville.—Flag Presentation.—Visit of the Governor.—Death in Camp.—Contributions to the Soldiers.—Female Nurses Selected.—Orders Arrive to go to Washington.—Strength of Regiment.

ON the 21st of August, 1861, after my return home from the campaign on the upper Potomac, I was authorized, by the Secretary of War, to raise a regiment of infantry and a six-gun battery, to serve for three years or during the war. The instructions given were of the most liberal kind. I was authorized to form a camp of instruction at Doylestown, and the respective departments were directed to furnish me with every thing necessary to equip and make the men comfortable. The work of recruiting men commenced immediately. The war-feeling ran high, and the disposition to sustain the government against armed rebellion was universal. I issued an appeal to the young men of the county to rally around the flag, and they re-

sponded nobly to the call. A meeting was advertised to be held in the court house, on Friday evening, the 30th instant, for the purpose of raising recruits. It was well attended. After the object of the meeting was stated, a roll was laid on the table, and the young men present were requested to enrol their names. Before the adjournment forty had volunteered. When it became known that authority to raise a regiment in Bucks county had been granted me, numerous applications for permission to raise companies or parts of companies, were received. Many of these were from young men who had already served under me three months, and had obtained a little practical knowledge of the duties of a soldier. In less than a week's time the roll of the first company was full, and I mustered it into the service of the United States at Clemens' hall, the 6th of September. Edward L. Rogers was appointed captain, and the company called the "Young Guard." The business of recruiting was carried on so briskly that in ten days four hundred men were enrolled. I had several offers of companies from a distance, but rejected all but two, one from Reading and another from Philadelphia, as I desired to make mine a Bucks county regiment. The whole ten companies could have been raised in the county with the greatest ease.

Recruiting the regiment created considerable excitement throughout the county, and others than those who intended to enter the service helped along the enterprise. Citizens of all parties tendered their assistance, and labored with a will. Public meetings were called in various parts of the county. Some of these were known as "Union mass meetings" and others "War meetings." They were generally held in the open air, in a wood or grove, and were well attended. The one which was holden near Addisville, in Northampton township, was the largest and most enthusiastic of the series. It was believed there were eight thousand people present, a very large proportion being ladies. General Davis, of Bucks, presided; and patriotic speeches were made by the honorable Wil-



liam D. Kelley, Lewis C. Cassiday, esq., of Philadelphia, the reverend Jacob Bellville, and George Lear, esq., of the county.

The place selected for the camp was the exhibition ground, half a mile south-west of Doylestown. It was a pleasant location, and combined several advantages. It was named "Camp Lacey," in honor of the gallant brigadier general John Lacey, of Bucks county, of the Revolutionary army. Camp and garrison equipage, and quartermaster's and commissary stores, were on the ground by the 12th of September. Tents were pitched for three hundred men on the 14th, and by the 17th there were enough up to accommodate the whole regiment. Enlisted men began to arrive by the 13th. That evening the train brought up a number of men for the battery, and a detachment of recruits unassigned. They quartered at the hotels for the night. The next morning a portion of captain Duncan's company came up from the city; and before evening all who had arrived were placed under canvas. On the 15th, forty men of captain Walter's company arrived from Reading. Camp duties were now commenced, and a few simple regulations established to govern those who were as yet unused to the harsher rules of the service. There was difficulty at first in procuring blankets, on account of the great demand for the Army of the Potomac, and the men suffered during the cold rains of September, but in a short time an abundant supply was received. The tents were floored, and each company had a little frame kitchen. The encampment was laid out with regularity, and in accordance with the rules of the service. Before the arrival of arms, guard duty was done with clubs.

Recruits poured in rapidly after the camp was established. By the 24th of September there were six hundred men present, and before the month had expired, the whole ten companies were in camp. The quartermaster commenced issuing clothing on the 19th, and by the following Saturday, the 21st, all the men were supplied with a complete outfit, except drawers, caps, and overcoats, which could not be procured until October. The uniform made a

wonderful change in the appearance of the men, and gave them at once the characteristics of an organized body. The regiment was supplied with flour from the borough mill, and the bread baked at the bakery of Mr. Hahl, Doylestown. Beef was furnished on contract by Messrs. Barber and Hoff, while the remainder of the commissary stores was brought from Philadelphia. While the regiment was in camp, two hundred and fifty-four barrels of flour were consumed. For the accommodation of the men, four refreshment stands were established inside the grounds, allotted to the highest bidder, the rent for which was placed in the regimental fund. The deputy quartermaster general at Philadelphia furnished the quartermaster with an army wagon and harness, and authorized him to purchase two horses, with which he did the necessary hauling for the regiment. The arms and equipments were received about the first of October, and were distributed to the men on the 9th. The two flank companies were armed with the rifle-musket, and the eight battalion companies with the old smooth-bore. Many of these guns were thirty and forty years old, and of various patterns. They were only uniform in caliber. Now we were able to perform military duty legitimately. However well a club may become a constable or policeman, every instinct of a soldier rebels against being armed with such a weapon. The men grasped their fire-locks with pleasure, and soon learned to handle them with ease and skill.

A strict and pretty thorough system of instruction was now established in camp. The commissioned officers were formed into a squad and drilled two hours in the morning, who in turn drilled their non-commissioned officers, and the latter drilled the privates in squads of eight or twelve. By this system the men soon became familiarized with the rudiments of the soldier's drill. In due time company drill was commenced and continued until they were qualified to be consolidated as a regiment and exercised as a battalion. So far as practicable the instruction was conveyed in a regular series of lessons, and the officers and men obtained a tolerable knowledge

of one branch before another was attempted. This course was continued the six weeks we lay in camp, and by means of it the regiment was well grounded in all the essential movements and duties that belong to the schools of the soldier, company and battalion. But few, if any, regiments which entered the service in 1861, were as well drilled before leaving their camp of instruction as the 104th. The chaplain held religious services in camp daily, and on Sunday there was preaching in morning and afternoon. The camp now became a place of great resort. Large numbers of people visited it daily, and some days the visitors numbered several thousand. They came many miles. Independently of the feeling which prevailed every where in favor of the volunteer movement, there was a great desire among the people to see soldiers and witness their manœuvres. But few of the present generation had ever seen five hundred men under arms at any one time in a body, and the sight was a novelty. Visitors were not permitted in camp, on Sunday, before 3 o'clock in the afternoon. At this time the law authorized each regiment of infantry to have a band of twenty-one musicians, with a leader. The demand was so great that it was somewhat difficult to obtain a good band; but I engaged one at Emaus, Lehigh county, composed of young Germans, which soon became quite skilled in playing. It joined us on the 23rd of September and the members were mustered into service the same day. Our numbers increased every day. On the 25th of October the aggregate strength was a thousand and seventy, officers and men, and ten days later it had risen to eleven hundred and thirty-five. By this time the battery numbered about a hundred and forty men. The 8th of October, the day of the State election, polls were opened in camp, and the men voted for candidates of their choice without let or hinderance.

At the proper time, I appointed the field and staff officers. I offered the position of lieutenant colonel to my neighbor, George Lear, esquire, who declined. It was next offered to captain John W. Nields, of the 1st regiment Pennsylvania Reserves, then in the

field, who accepted, and soon after reported for duty. Mr. John M. Gries, of Philadelphia, architect, was appointed major, and lieutenant Thompson H. Hart, adjutant. James D. Hendrie, a lieutenant in the first company recruited, was appointed quartermaster. The post of chaplain was tendered to the reverend William R. Gries, pastor of Saint Paul's Episcopal church, Doylestown and accepted. He immediately entered upon his duties, and likewise was active and useful in the general work of recruiting. Doctors William Allen Peck and William T. Robinson, of Montgomery county, were assigned to the regiment as surgeon and assistant surgeon. For sergeant major I had Edmund A. Wallazz, of Philadelphia, a pupil of the renowned Stonewall Jackson, at the Lexington military academy, Virginia. He was partly reared in the family of Edmund Ruffin, who fired the first gun of the rebellion, at Sumter, and afterward blew his brains out from chagrin at the failure of the cause. With Robert Holmes, for quartermaster, and James M. Rogers for commissary, sergeant, and John Hargrave and Joseph Winner for principal musicians, the organization of the staff was complete. The leader of the band was John Z. Jobst, who received the pay of second lieutenant. It was much the custom of the times to give regiments some name by which they might be known independently of their number as designated by the State. I therefore selected the name of the gallant artillery officer who was killed at the battle of Resaca de la Palma, and called it the "Ringgold Regiment." The number, 104th, was not given to it until some time after its organization.

Soldiers are fond of fun the world over, all the more, no doubt, because they are debarred from the general pleasures of society and so many of the sex confined in one body. Amusement was organized before the regiment, and the campaign of camp Lacey was as successful in this respect as any the regiment afterward made in the field. The men soon collected about them a fine array of pets to cheer the solitude of their tents. The affections of one company were lav-

ished upon a large Newfoundland dog, which stepped around the company street with great pride; another had a comic coon, to the training of which the men devoted their leisure time. This little animal went into the field with us, but its career was closed with that of many of its admirers on the bloody field of Fair Oaks. A cat was the pet of another company. It made the campaign of the Peninsula on the knapsack of its owner—survived the famous retreat to the James, and died in peace in camp at Gloucester point at the end of a year's service. The pleasures of music predominated, but it was more noted for diversity of tune and noise in execution than artistic skill. One could hear at any hour of the day and until tattoo in the evening, as he walked through the camp, any number of songs tuned in beautiful discord, embracing almost every thing in the category of popular airs from "Carry me back to old Virginny," to "Uncle Ned had no wool on the top of his head," &c.

One of the best jokes that took place in camp occurred at the guard-house, and the hero of it was a private in company I, named Wesley Peake. Upon one occasion he had indulged too freely in bad whisky, and was sent to the guard-house for punishment. He was sentenced to walk post with a placard on his back containing the word "Drunk" in large letters. While thus expiating his offence, a woman came in at the gate and was struck with the letters on his back. She stopped to look at them, and tried hard to make them out, but not being very well versed in English, she found herself at fault. She spelled the word as far as the letter "u," but could get no farther, and, after repeating it several times, she was about to give up the task in despair. Peake overheard her trying to decipher the rude, and not complimentary, inscription on his back, and resolved to help her out to his own advantage. He said to her, "Madam, the letters are d-r-u-m, and they spell drum.—I'm the drum-major of the regiment." Not being particularly well versed in military matters she accepted his explanation, and turned away entirely satisfied.

The regiment made two excursions while encamped at Doylestown. The first to attend a Union mass meeting held in a grove near Danborough, five miles from camp, on the 5th of October. It left camp at noon, eight hundred strong, with the band playing lively airs, and marched up the turnpike to the place of meeting. The men had not yet received their caps, but were otherwise in uniform, and made a very handsome appearance; they were without arms and equipments. The reception was cordial. We returned to camp at sun-down covered with dust. The next day the major conducted the men to the Neshaminy creek after divine service, where they rid themselves of the dust of the march by bathing. On the 17th the citizens of Hartsville and vicinity held a union festival, gotten up partially on account of the regiment, and which it was cordially invited to attend. We left camp at 8 o'clock and took the road by Pebble hill and Bridge Valley. The appearance of the regiment was very fine as it marched by the flank over the hills and through the valleys. As the sun played upon the bright muskets and shining equipments, it had the appearance, when viewed from a distance, of a huge serpent clad in glittering scales winding his way through the country. The field and staff were mounted, and the baggage wagon accompanied us. At Jamison's corner we were met by a committee of fifty horsemen, headed by Mr. Robert Beans, with a beautiful banner, which came out to escort us to the place of festival. We reached Hartsville about 11 o'clock, and were received by the very large concourse of people with shouts of welcome. Arms were stacked in a large field in the rear of the hotel. Ample preparation was made for the entertainment by the ladies, who were the moving spirits in the feast. On the west side of the field eleven tables, each forty-eight feet in length, were erected, covered with cloths of spotless white, and loaded with almost untold luxuries and substantial, the contributions of some two hundred families of that vicinity. The hundred pounds of roast beef, veal, mutton, pigs, chickens and boiled ham, delicate white bread, and butter the color



of gold, the quantities of fresh pies and cakes, and numerous other edibles were almost marvellous to behold. At 12 o'clock the regiment was marched to dinner, each company occupying a single table, where the men were bountifully helped to the inviting repast prepared by the hand of affection and patriotism. After dinner a meeting was organized in the field. The regiment was drawn up in close order immediately in front of the stand. After a prayer, the Rev. Jacob Bellville delivered a brief but eloquent address, in which he thanked the soldiers in warm terms for their promptness in responding to the call of the country. Among those seated on the stand were nine veterans of the war of 1812, men who had come down from another generation to witness the martial scenes of the present. We returned to camp before dark delighted with the trip, bearing several baskets full of delicacies to the sick and others who remained behind. The reception of the regiment, wherever it appeared, was equal to an ovation. The citizens flocked to the side of the road and cheered the men as they passed.

Soon after I commenced to raise the regiment, a few patriotic ladies in the county put on foot the project of presenting it with a standard of national colors, and a committee was appointed to collect money for the purpose. The whole amount raised was one hundred and forty-one dollars, of which seventy-five were collected in the borough of Doylestown. The flag was made by the Messrs. Horstmann & Co., Philadelphia, of the best quality of silk, and of regulation size. On the middle stripe were the words "Ringgold Regiment," beautifully wrought in silver, with the number on the next stripe below. It was presented to the regiment at the encampment, on the 21st of October, in the presence of a large concourse of people. The number was estimated at five thousand, at least one half of whom were ladies. A platform had been erected on the parade ground, and the regiment was drawn up in front of it under arms. The committee of ladies having the matter in charge had invited the Rev. Jacob Bellville to present the flag in the name of the fair donors. He de-

livered an impressive discourse on the occasion. I received the flag in the name of the regiment, and delivered it into the hands of color-sergeant Laughlin, who was charged to preserve it as the apple of his eye.

The regiment received a second flag from the State. The Legislature had made an appropriation for the purpose of purchasing a stand of colors for each regiment of volunteers raised in Pennsylvania, which the governor was authorized to deliver to them before they took the field. Governor Curtin was invited to come to Doylestown and present the flag to the One Hundred and Fourth in person, which he promised to do, and the 21st of October was the time fixed for the ceremony. In view of a visit from the executive of the State, a public meeting of citizens was held in the court house, and a committee of fifteen, composed of men of both political parties, was appointed to make the necessary arrangements for a civic reception in connection with the military. The day was one of the finest of the season. At an early hour the citizens of Bucks and the neighboring counties came pouring into town, until it seemed that the entire population had made the occasion a grand gala-day. The camp ground was fairly alive with visitors. Among the soldiery all was bustle and preparation, and every thing, from top to toe, was put in the most complete order. The governor and staff left Philadelphia in the morning train, and were met by a committee several miles down the road. The train came in at 11 o'clock. The right wing of the regiment was drawn up at the depot to receive him. When he stepped upon the platform arms were presented, the drums saluting and band playing "Hail to the Chief." He was escorted to his quarters, at the Cowell house, through the principal streets of the town. The troops were then marched back to camp for dinner. At 1 o'clock P. M., the governor and suite and committee of arrangements, in carriages, were escorted by the military to the encampment. As on the former like occasion, a platform was erected on the parade ground, in front of which was



the regiment, and around them on every side the thousands who had been attracted thither by the ceremony of the day. After the band had played "Hail Columbia," the governor arose with the flag in his hand, and delivered a patriotic speech to the people. He then handed the flag to me, which I accepted in the name of the regiment, and delivered it to sergeant Slack, who had been chosen to bear it. At the conclusion of the ceremony the citizens and military loudly cheered the governor, the flag and the regiment. When silence was restored, the Rev. Dr. Andrews, on behalf of the Bucks County Bible society, presented to each officer and soldier a copy of the New Testament. The regiment then broke into companies and marched in review before the governor, after which he was escorted back to the Cowell house. He returned to Philadelphia by the afternoon train.

The regiment lost the first man by death while it lay at camp Lacey; and while there it also had the first blood drawn. Private Joseph B. Smith, of company D, died of epilepsy, at the house of Charles Selser, near the encampment. He was ill about a week. His parents lived in Richland township, whither his body was taken for burial. The blood was drawn from the person of a private of company A, in an attempt to run the guard under cover of darkness. He was shot by a vigilant sentinel of the battery, but the wound was not at all serious. On Sunday morning the 3rd of November, there was a baptismal ceremony in camp. Privates Musselman, Godshall and Shelly, of company D, offered themselves as candidates for baptism on profession of religion. A drum, covered with a small American flag, was the improvised chancel around which they knelt while the rite was administered.

The people of the county were liberal in furnishing the enlisted men with articles necessary to their comfort. In various localities societies were organized for the purpose, which laid the foundation of the future "Aid Societies," which did such effectual work during the war. Contributions came in daily. Considerable

money was collected, which was expended in the purchase of useful articles for them which the government did not supply, such as towels, combs, warm gloves, etc. The surplus money from the flag-fund was thus appropriated. Chaplain Gries received one hundred and sixty-one dollars, which he laid out for rubber blankets, and prayer-books stamped with the name of the regiment. Among the contributions was a well assorted field-library and case. Bishop Stevens gave twenty-five dollars from his private purse for this purpose. The people of Reading were liberal toward the men who were enlisted in that town. Mrs. Catharine Price, a lady eighty years old, presented me a pair of fine wool stockings, which she knit with her own hands. In this, as in all other matters pertaining to the soldier, the mothers and daughters of the county gave unmistakable evidence that their warmest affections went out toward those who perilled life and limb for the Union. In this regard, the women of Bucks county were the equals of their sisters in other parts of the country. While at Doylestown two female nurses for service in the hospital, joined the regiment;—Mrs. Leedom and Miss Emiline Sibbitts, both of Buckingham township. One had a husband, and the other a brother, in the ranks. They accompanied us to Washington, and remained until we were ordered to take the field, in the spring. They rendered valuable service in nursing the sick, and assisting to prepare the dead for the grave. Their conduct was such as to merit and receive the respect of both officers and men. While we lay in camp several of the officers were presented with handsome swords, by their friends. Upon one occasion the ceremony took place in the Court House, where music and the smiles of women gave animation to the scene. An officer and several men were married on the eve of our departure, and left behind them weeping wives in the place of disconsolate sweet-hearts.

The days of camp Lacey were now numbered. Soon the soldiers of the One Hundred and Fourth were to leave this pleasant place, and the spot which had known them so long, would know many of

them no more forever. When the governor was in Doylestown, I received verbal instruction to hold the regiment in readiness to proceed to Washington, as soon as I received notice that transportation was ready. Quartermaster Hendrie was sent to Philadelphia to make the necessary arrangements with the roads over which we must pass on our way to Washington, and upon his return he reported that transportation would be ready on the 6th of November, Wednesday. On Monday evening I received an order by telegraph, from the governor, to proceed as soon as practicable to Washington. I announced the order at dress parade, Tuesday evening, and directed the camp to be broken at daylight in the morning. It was received with lively satisfaction, and after the parade was dismissed, the men made the camp echo with their shouts. Could they have read the future, and foretold the deaths, wounds, disease and hardships that were in store for them, they would have been less boisterous in their gladness. The strength of the regiment when we marched, was ten hundred and forty-nine, including the battery.

## CHAPTER II.

Regiment leaves Doylestown.—Ride to Philadelphia.—Arrival at Washington.—Go out to camp.—Cold night.—Our location.—Washington a great camp.—Brigade formed.—Review of army of Potomac.—A grand scene.—Life in camp.—Health of regiment.—Officers detailed to recruit.—Peter Wykoff.—Receive permission to build barracks.—A description.—On court martial.—Company savings.—Reception at White House.—Move into barracks.—Color guard appointed.

THE 6th of November, 1861, was an eventful day in the lives of the untried soldiers in camp Lacey. The reveille sounded at 3½ o'clock, A. M., and by sun rise the tents were struck and the baggage ready to be hauled down to the cars. In another hour the regiment was in march to the station, where a train of twenty-five cars stood ready on the track to receive it. Without unnecessary delay the men and baggage were put aboard. Notwithstanding the early hour a large number of people had come in from the surrounding country to witness the departure of the regiment, and bid a last farewell to their friends. In many cases the parting was affecting in the extreme, and with a large number of the men the greeting with the loved ones left behind was the last on earth. A little after 7 o'clock the great locomotive Cheltenham stretched its traces and the train moved off amid the plaudits of the multitude. The day was made unpleasant by a drizzling rain. The regiment was saluted with cheers at every station, cross-road and farm house on the line between Doylestown and Philadelphia, which were answered by returning shouts from the men and music by the band.

Disembarking at Master street, we marched down Fourth street to the Volunteer Refreshment Saloon. The march through the city was a continued welcome. The street was every where crowded with citizens; and while the men made the welkin ring with their shouts below, the ladies waved their handkerchiefs, and smiled down their greetings from the windows above. We dined at the Saloon; the ladies and gentlemen who managed it waiting upon us with a grace and politeness that greatly increased the pleasure of eating. Thence we marched up Washington street to the Baltimore depot, where at 4½ o'clock, P. M., we took the cars for Washington. The night was cold and raining, but the weather cleared before morning. We reached Baltimore before daylight, and marched through the streets of the monumental city while its inhabitants slumbered. The music of the band now and then brought a drowsy waker in night cap and gown to the window to see whence came all the noise that disturbed their slumbers. At the Camden street depot we found a train ready to convey us to the Federal capital. One more start and a six hours' ride and we were landed in Washington, almost under the shadow of the dome of the marble senate house. Along side the depot was a "Soldiers' Rest," where the regiment got dinner. We were immediately reported to general Casey, who received all the new troops on their arrival and assigned them to camping ground. It was nearly sun down when I received an order to march the regiment to Kalorama heights, on the western border of the city and go into camp. A guide was sent to point out the way. It was some time after dark when we reached the ground. As the baggage did not arrive until much later, we did not wait for the tents, but bivouacked on the cold ground wrapped in our blankets. The cold was so severe that water froze in the canteens.

The return of daylight enabled us to determine our location—just back of Georgetown, and before the war one of the loveliest spots in the vicinity of Washington. About ten acres of cleared land lay contiguous to a beautiful grove that bounded it on two

sides, and the other two sides were skirted by a copse of bushes with a few large trees intermingled, and a straggling fringe of smaller trees that completed the circuit until they joined the woodland again. An abundance of clear spring water was close at hand. The situation was high, overlooking the city and the Potomac river in the distance.

We arose at sunrise stiffened and chilled with the cold; but the sun soon put warmth and animation into our bodies. We went to work immediately. The camp ground was laid out and cleared off, and the tents pitched with regularity and precision. They were placed on a ridge which shed the water in opposite directions. The hospital tents were pitched in the edge of the timber on the left of the encampment, and the medical officers made comfortable arrangements to accommodate the sick. The battery encamped on the right of the regiment within the chain of sentinels. A week afterward it was detached and sent to the artillery camp and never rejoined us. A few days after our arrival, Mr. Lewis B. Scott, who had been appointed sutler, arrived with a stock of goods, which he opened in camp for the accommodation of officers and men. A rigid system of drills and camp duty was established at once and continued while we remained in camp. There were drills morning and afternoon six days in the week and inspection on Sunday when the weather permitted.

At this period Washington and the country for several miles around was one vast camp. The proclamation of the President calling for five hundred thousand men met a hearty response in the North and the loyal youth of the country literally flocked to the capital. They came in regiments, but were generally an unorganized mass of brave and true-hearted men. The defeat at Bull Run left Washington almost defenceless. When general McClellan arrived and assumed command, the 26th of July, the force stationed there hardly deserved the name of an army. The three months regiments were being rapidly mustered out, while those that remain-

ed, were yet too much demoralized by recent defeat to be of much service. The defensive works were improperly located, and imperfectly constructed, and the troops were not placed in advantageous positions. The new commander devoted all his time and energies to reorganizing the army and completing the fortifications. Gradually the task was accomplished; the new levies were transformed into well-drilled soldiers, and the forts so far completed that the federal capital was considered safe from attack. When this was done the nation took new hope. By the last of December the army of the Potomac numbered one hundred and eighty thousand men. The great bulk of it occupied the south bank of the river, extending from about Drainsville to some distance below Alexandria. We held undisputed possession of the north bank, but the major part of the troops on this side was between Ball's bluff and Budd's ferry.

One could not fail to notice the great change in the appearance of Washington since the good old times of peace had been usurped by a state of war. Warlike preparations were seen every where. Tents were pitched on all the plains and hill-sides, and troops were seen drilling on every hand. Long trains of ammunition, commissariat, and baggage wagons, travelled the streets and roads; officers in gay uniforms; mounted orderlies bearing dispatches to and from the outposts; soldiers lounging about off duty; and regiments newly arriving and marching to camp. Here comes a squadron of cavalry, with gingling sabres and prancing horses, escorting the General in Chief on his return from a visit to the defences; there a battery of artillery rumbling through the streets; next heavy guns on their way to the fortifications on the Virginia side of the river. These were the daily and hourly scenes of war-like preparations going on about Washington any time during the fall of 1861 or the winter of 1862. How marked the contrast!

On the 11th of November the 104th and 52nd Pennsylvania, the 56th New York, and the 11th Maine regiments were organized into a Provisional brigade, of which I was placed in command as the



senior colonel. The increased duty and responsibility gave me neither additional pay nor rank, but the order conferred on me the high-sounding title of "Provisional Brigadier General." A few days afterwards the same regiments were organized into a permanent brigade by general McClellan, and I was continued in command. I was now glad to drop the bombastic "Provisional" and to command by virtue of my rank as colonel. A modest substance is always to be preferred to a grander shadow.

On the 20th instant the first grand review of the army of the Potomac was held on the Virginia side of the river, about ten miles from the city, between Munson's hill and Bailey's cross roads. The spot selected was a basin-like plain encircled by a rim of hills of moderate elevation, and about a mile in diameter. The fences had been pulled down, the ditches filled up and banks levelled, that there might be no obstructions to the movements of the troops. There were nearly a hundred thousand well-drilled and well-disciplined troops present, consisting of infantry, artillery, and cavalry, with one hundred pieces of cannon. I obtained a pass and rode out to the field: The concourse of people that thronged the road, in carriages, on horse-back and afoot, was so great that I had some difficulty in getting there. As each one was determined to arrive as quickly as possible there was actual danger from the rush of carriages and horses. When I reached the ground the army was already in position. As I passed down the slope in front of Munson's hill and looked upon the martial array before me it struck me as grander than any thing I had ever seen in all my life before. The troops were drawn up in two lines of battalion masses and swept nearly around two thirds of the circumference of the plain. Where I then was the whole army was under my eye without changing my position, and the spectacle was by all odds the finest military display that had ever been seen in America. I doubt whether, during the whole war, so many troops were seen at a single glance as on that occasion. The review was announced to begin at 11 o'clock, but it



did not take place until two hours later. The signal was the firing of a single cannon. General McClellan, accompanied by the President and attended by a numerous and brilliant staff, passed along the front and rear of each regiment, the men standing at "Present arms," the officers saluting and the bands playing. After he had thus reviewed the whole army, he took a position near a large tree to receive the marching salute as they passed in review. I was temporarily attached to the staff of my division commander, and with him, formed part of the suite of the General in Chief. Thus I had an opportunity to see every thing, and observed it well. The army commenced to march in review about 1½ o'clock, and for several hours continued to sweep by their general in all the pomp and circumstance of war. The regiments marched by division front, closed in mass, mounted officers alone saluting. The music from a hundred bands and the shouts of the soldiery cheering their beloved chieftain fairly made the Virginia hills resound. I left the ground at 4 o'clock when thousands were yet to pass. During all these hours the young General in Chief sat on his horse beside the President, patient and unmoved. The troops every where received him with great enthusiasm, evidence of the strong hold he had upon their affections. As I passed through the country going and returning I was struck with the wide-spread desolation that prevailed, and the general destruction a few months of war had made. It was almost as destitute of inhabitants as though it had never been peopled. The houses had been pulled down; fences burned; barns relieved of their contents and then destroyed; and mills gutted. The country presented a sad but truthful picture of the desolating effects of war.

The reader must not be disappointed in finding so few things of interest transpiring during the winter-we passed at Washington. The duty was simply routine, to prepare the troops for the field in the spring, and none of the stirring events of war marked that portion of our history. The regiment was not exempt from any of the

calamities that are sure to wait on fresh troops in camp. The beginning of December both the small-pox and the typhoid fever made their appearance. At first they created a little panic, but it soon subsided. The former disease was, no doubt, contracted from the eruptive hospital situated within a few hundred yards of the camp, and whither I had to send a small guard every morning. Immediate measures were taken to prevent the spread of these diseases. The whole regiment was vaccinated, and the most thorough system of policing was established. The tents were frequently struck, and the leaves and other rubbish that had collected in them burned, while the ground was well fumigated and cleansed. The blankets and clothing were hung out to air daily. A hospital for small-pox patients was established in the woods several hundred yards from camp. These precautionary measures, and the sudden change in the weather, prevented the disease spreading to any great extent, although it had a lingering existence among us until spring. In all there were thirty cases in four months, and one death. But two officers, captain Orem and lieutenant Kephart, took the disease, but both recovered. The typhoid fever was of an equally mild character, with only a few bad cases. Three officers, lieutenants Heany, Hinkle, and McDowell were attacked with it, the two former very severely. Notwithstanding these two diseases made their appearance the regiment was in a very healthy condition the whole winter. From the 15th of November until the 13th of December, twenty-nine days, the average number of sick, both in camp and hospital, was but twenty-five. This is a small per-centage in the aggregate number of nine hundred men present. At this period there was a remarkable contrast in the health of the different regiments of the brigade. On the 19th of December the surgeon's report showed but twenty men of the 104th on the sick list, while on the same day the 11th Maine had two hundred and sixteen sick; the 52nd Pennsylvania one hundred and forty, and the 56th New York one hundred and twenty. There was no visible cause for this great difference in point of health.

The last of November captain Harvey, lieutenant Albertson, and sergeants O'Connell and Dyer were detailed on recruiting service, and immediately started home and opened recruiting offices in the county. Later in the season the number was increased by the addition of sergeant White, corporal Lehnen, and privates Smith and Cadwallader. Lieutenant Hinkle, who went home on sick leave, relieved lieutenant Albertson. The whole detail was relieved the beginning of May and rejoined the regiment on the Peninsula. In that time seventy odd men were recruited, of whom sixty-three joined the regiment at Washington and three after it had left. A few were rejected because of disability and two or three deserted. Companies H. and I. not being yet full, most of the recruits were assigned to them to fill them up. One of these men had such a talent for running away that it is worth while to mention him. His name was Peter Wykoff, and I believe was a Jerseyman. He was recruited by captain Harvey in January, 1862. He was sent to the regiment and detailed as clerk and nurse in the brigade hospital. He won the confidence of the men, and they intrusted considerable money to him for safe keeping. Watching his opportunity, he deserted and went to Allentown, New Jersey, where he located himself as a school teacher. Captain Harvey hearing of him sent an officer there, who arrested and brought him to Doylestown. He escaped on his way to Harrisburg and returned to Allentown. He was again arrested and sent to Harrisburg under guard. Before he reached the regiment he deserted the third time, and was gone several months before he was heard of. In February, 1862, lieutenant McCoy saw him one evening in Chestnut street, Philadelphia, followed him to a concert room, and had him arrested and sent to Fort Delaware. We never heard of him afterward.

The regiment was paid for the first time the 4th and 5th of December, down to the 31st of October. I have no means of knowing with entire accuracy how much money the men sent home to their families, but believe it was about ten thousand dollars. Thirty-

eight hundred dollars of this amount was sent to the Doylestown bank to be paid on checks.

As cold weather approached, and it became evident that the army must spend the winter in Washington, I determined, if possible, to have my brigade under cover. The 5th United States cavalry were building barracks for themselves near our camp, and I could see no reason why regulars should be more comfortable than volunteers. A simple calculation convinced me that it was more economical to put troops in board huts for the winter, than keep them in tents. I broached the matter to general Casey, who requested me to place it on paper, with plans for the buildings and estimates for materials. The plan I fixed upon was that of a Mexican town, the huts to be built around a large open court yard, or plaza, each regiment to occupy one side of the square. In the matter of estimates I availed myself of the experience of major Gries, an architect, and lieutenant Carver, a practical builder. I requested to be furnished with the necessary materials and tools and pledged the men to do all the work. General McClellan approved the plan and ordered the quartermaster to issue the requisite amount of lumber and other materials upon proper requisition.

I selected Meridian Hill, on Fourteenth street, immediately in the rear of Columbia college, as the site for the barracks. It was two miles from Washington, and a healthy location. They were built around a court yard seven hundred feet square. Each company hut was eighty feet long, sixteen wide and twelve high, with the end to the square. The roof had the ordinary pitch, was covered with felt and pitched, with projecting gable and eaves, to improve the finish. In front was a room partitioned off for the commissioned, and a similar one in the rear for the non-commissioned, officers. Bunks were put up, and windows and doors enough for light and ventilation. In the rear of each hut was a convenient cook-house. Each regiment occupied ten company huts, one for the field and staff, and another for the non-commissioned staff and band. A hut

of equal size was erected on the north side for the accommodation of brigade head quarters. One row of huts was on the east side of Fourteenth street which ran through the barrack yard. Before the work was commenced each regiment was assigned its side of the square, and carpenters detailed to build the huts. Guard houses were erected at the north-west and south east angles. The barracks consumed a million feet of lumber. The 104th commenced work the 5th of December, and the regiment occupied its huts on Christmas day. Sergeant Mattis was detailed to attend to the delivery of the lumber and other materials. The erection of the quarters was superintended by lieutenant Carver, and after him the establishment was called "Carver Barracks." When we vacated them in the spring the government fitted them up for a general hospital, for which they were well adapted, with a slight alteration. They were then called "Carver General Hospital." How easily was the name of an unknown lieutenant made historic!

In addition to other duties, I was detailed on general court martial the 5th of December, which continued in session for about sixty days. It was composed of five general officers and eight colonels, with general Casey as President. The first case tried was that of colonel Kerrigan, 25th New York volunteers, on the charge of holding intercourse with the enemy. He was ably defended by judge Hearne and the honorable Reverdy Johnson, and acquitted of the most serious charge, but convicted of other offences that justified his dismissal from the service. While the court was in session, the members were obliged to be present daily, in spite of mud and rain, some of them riding several miles from the Virginia side of the river.

One of the lessons I endeavored early to instil into the regiment, was that of *economy* in all things, in which, with the assistance of the officers, it achieved a commendable success. The order from general McClellan placing volunteer troops on the same footing with regulars, as regarded company savings, had a beneficial influence in

teaching economy to the enlisted men. The order provided that the rations drawn, but not consumed, as well as those undrawn, and to which the troops were entitled, should be purchased by the subsistence department for cash, which was to be applied to the formation of a company fund for the purchase of extra articles for the men. Under this system the men had a direct interest in economizing, because they knew that every dollar's worth of rations saved, came back to them in money to purchase other and more desirable articles. It was also an advantage to the government, for it saved the cost of transportation on every pound of pork or beef, coffee, sugar or hard tack that was bought of the troops. Subsistence officers sometimes refused to pay company savings, but an appeal to the chief of that bureau always set the subordinate right. In December the 104th made considerable savings, how much in the aggregate I have no means of telling; but I know that those of company A for that month were \$117,54. The entire savings of the ten companies for January, 1862, were \$665,55, of which company E had \$105,26, or nearly one-sixth of the whole amount. The regulations also recognized and allowed regimental savings, which are a saving in flour where regiments bake their own bread. In such cases the saving was about thirty-three per cent., which went into the regimental fund. Regiments very seldom baked their own bread in the field, but where stationed at a post for any length of time bakeries were generally erected.

War, with its attendant miseries, was not allowed to trench on the gayeties of Washington city. The levees at the White House were held as in the most peaceful times. I attended the first of the season, the 19th of December. A crowd was present, composed principally of officers of the army, among whom was general McClellan, with his wife. Mrs. Lincoln did the honors of the evening. The newspaper correspondents pronounced it a success. They were correct in their estimation of the evening, if to achieve success it requires a great crowd, squeezing and pushing, smashing of hoops,



and treading on tender dresses, all sorts of people in all sorts of costumes, and homely women with sharp shoulder-blades and low-necked dresses. The levee was all this. There was a marked disregard of form and ceremony, and the etiquette of the occasion was simple enough to satisfy the straightest republican. The most pleasant feature of the evening was the Marine band stationed in a vestibule, which played delightful music. It was made very apparent to my mind, that the President is the servant of the people, and that the house he lives in belongs to them.

We broke camp at Kalorama Christmas morning, and before evening the regiment, with its baggage, pets, etc., was housed in the new barracks. Officers and men soon adapted themselves to the changed mode of living, and learned to be more comfortable under tight boards and felt roofs than canvass. The huts were whitewashed, which vastly improved their appearance. The quarters of the officers were generally papered with wall-paper, while those of the men were covered with Harper's Weekly and other pictorials, which presented them with an illustrated history of the rebellion as far as it had progressed. Contributions from home enabled many of the men to add a few delicacies to the government ration. A plump turkey, a present from a lady of Bucks county, graced the table of the commanding officer at Christmas dinner. By about the middle of January the whole brigade was in quarters.

We passed a quiet New Year's day. Many of the regiments across the river had a gay and happy time. In some of the camps the demonstration began the night before by the firing of cannon and small arms. The German regiments were the merriest. Their camps were handsomely decked in evergreens, and lager flowed in inviting streams. On the Washington side there was more quietness. In the city, according to a time-honored custom, the officers of the army, in full uniform, paid their respects to the President; and afterward the foreign ministers and their wives made their accustomed visit of ceremony to the Executive. The first death in

the regiment, after our arrival at Washington, was private Tunis K. Smith, of company C, who died of small-pox. When I came to appoint a permanent color-guard for the regiment, twenty-seven non-commissioned officers volunteered for this dangerous and honorable duty. The eight selected, were corporals Widdifield, McGraudy, Tyson, Bridegroom, Lex, Carter, Purcell and Nicholas, who always stood by their colors, as their wounds will testify. The forepart of January, lieutenant Holmes was appointed acting brigade commissary of subsistence by general Casey. The commissary general was so much pleased with the manner in which he discharged the duties, that he recommended his appointment as commissary of subsistence, with the rank of captain, which was made. He was confirmed by the Senate, and served to the end of the war in this capacity. He entered the regiment as private, and was promoted to a lieutenancy before we left camp Lacey. While the regiment was in camp at Doylestown, orderly sergeant Schindle, of company A, was appointed a second lieutenant in the 6th regiment, United States army, but did not leave us until the 104th reached Washington. He served through the war with great credit. Soon after we reached Washington, I appointed Chapman Carver, company B, my orderly, in which position he served through his term of three years with great fidelity.



## CHAPTER III.

Unpleasant winter.—Brigade hospital established.—Regiment newly armed.—Recruits for gunboat service.—Whisky.—General Stone.—News of fort Donaldson's surrender.—General Lander's funeral.—104th the escort.—Brigade drills.—Dress parades.—Corporal Everett baptized.—Marching orders.—Countermanded.—Our division.—We march for the Peninsula.—Bivouac at Alexandria.—We embark for Fortress Monroe.

IN some respects the winter of 1861 and '62 was the most unpleasant that had been known at Washington city for many years. It was mild in temperature, and wet, and almost the whole country in the vicinity of the army was reduced to a state of mud. The roads were in such condition, that at times travel was almost impeded. Some days it took six mules to draw an empty wagon out Fourteenth street and up Meridian hill. It was with difficulty my command could be supplied with rations and fuel. The troops in the distant camps were sometimes in want of supplies. Notwithstanding the bad weather and terrible condition of the roads, we spent a pleasant winter. Several of the officers, and some of the men, had their wives with them to cheer up the dulness of the time passed in barracks. The bad weather was against the drill and discipline of the army. For weeks at a time there was no drilling. Our barracks yard became almost a sea of mud, and for a week or two at a stretch we could not even have dress parade. During the winter a number of visitors, from Pennsylvania, came to see their friends and relatives in the regiment, who generally brought with them some delicacy or luxury to add to the soldier's larder.

After some little delay, the country house of Mr. Stone, near the barracks, was rented for a brigade hospital, and early in January it was fitted up for the reception of patients. It was at first put in charge of Surgeon Peck, of the 104th, and privates Nice and Rush were detailed as nurses. The sick had better accommodations, and more care taken of them, than in their regimental hospitals. The beginning of January, lieutenant McCoy was appointed division ordnance officer on the staff of general Casey, in which capacity he served during the campaign on the Peninsula. He then for a time was regimental quartermaster; was afterward appointed acting aide-de-camp on the staff of the brigade commander, in which capacity, and as acting-assistant adjutant general, he served the balance of his term. He was a good officer, and reliable in the discharge of all his duties. He died the year following his discharge from service. During the winter, companies G and I were detached a short time from the regiment and placed on duty at the Soldiers' Rest, in the city, to guard some returned prisoners of war, until they could be distributed to their homes. About this time the regiment was newly armed. The muskets they had been furnished with at camp Lacey were pronounced unfit for service, on close inspection, and application was made for new arms. It was now armed with the Austrian rifle, a rough, but good and reliable arm, which the men carried the remainder of their three years. On the 5th of February, a flag-staff, seventy-five feet high, was erected in the middle of the barracks yard, and the first clear evening afterward, the stars and stripes were run up and unfurled amid the cheers of the troops, and the music of the bands playing the "Star-Spangled Banner" in concert.

About this time a flag of truce was received from the rebel commander at Manasses, which caused considerable speculation in military circles. Colonel Harrison, of the second Virginia cavalry, came to our lines Sunday night, the 1st of February, and announced to the officer in charge of the pickets, that he had a communication

from general Johnston to general McClellan. After the usual forms had been gone through with, he was conducted to the quarters of general McDowell, at Arlington Heights. His communication was forwarded to the head quarters of the army at Washington. The contents were deemed of sufficient importance for a cabinet meeting to be called to consider them, but their nature never transpired beyond confidential official circles. No doubt the secrecy maintained about them, was the reason of the speculation.

In organizing the gunboat service on the Mississippi and its tributaries, there was great need of sailors to man the boats, and details had to be made from the army to make up the deficiency. Several hundred were sent from the army of the Potomac. The detail from my brigade was one man from each company, those who had previously been sailors or watermen, preferred. The 104th furnished ten, viz., sergeant Darling, and privates Brierly, Wynkoop, Smith, Tomah, Saylor, Garner, Gay, Hogeland, and Hawk. The order was received the 18th of February, and the men selected were to be ready to go the next morning. It created considerable excitement. Volunteers were called for, and the requisite number soon made up. Those who offered largely exceeded the number required, and so anxious were the men to go on this honorable and dangerous duty, that some of those who had been accepted were offered premiums as high as fifty dollars for their places. The regiment also furnished two commissioned officers, lieutenants Kephart and Groff, to assist in conducting the entire detail to Cairo, Illinois, the place of rendezvous. They left the barracks the next morning in a violent rain storm, and amid the cheers of their late companions. These men never rejoined the regiment, but finished their enlistment in the gunboat service on the Mound City. They were in numerous engagements on the Western rivers, and experienced much vicissitude of hardship and danger. Wynkoop, Gay and Saylor were killed by an explosion of the Mound City while in action, on the White river, in Arkansas, June, 1862. A shell from the

enemy penetrated the steam-chest. Sergeant Darling died of disease in the hospital, the following November.

Whisky was the most troublesome enemy the army had to fight during the winter. The proprietors of groggeries were almost legion in number, and were found located on every side. Through the instrumentality of "red eye" and "tribulated tanglefoot," many a good fellow was brought to grief. Armed parties were now and then sent out to put an end to these intolerable nuisances in the vicinity of the camps, and not unfrequently the barrels and kegs were rolled out of the shanties, and the contents turned into the gutter. I was told, that on one occasion the officer in charge of the party detected some tin-cans of whisky protected by the enormous hoops of a woman, who stood over them in the middle of the room. When she saw that she was detected, she exclaimed, almost with tears in her eyes: "Ah, dear captain, you are not going to take away the livin' of a poor lone woman, with six small children, and three of them blind!" The pathetic appeal had no effect on the hard-hearted officer, who emptied the contents of the cans into the street. Friends at home sometimes sent the men whisky in boxes that contained pies and cakes. To break up the practice, all boxes were ordered to be opened and searched in the presence of an officer before delivery to the owner. But the most watchful care could not entirely prevent whisky being smuggled into barracks. One day a private in company D, received a box, which was duly inspected by an officer and pronounced all right, and turned over to the owner. He had no sooner received it, than he cut open a loaf of bread, and took therefrom a square tin-box filled with whisky. Parents were even known to send whisky to their children in this clandestine way, and sometimes got them into trouble.

No event during the winter created more surprise in Washington than the arrest of general Stone and his confinement in fort Warren, Boston harbor, where he was imprisoned fifteen months. No other charge was ever made against him than the sweeping one of "disloyal

ty," which no one believed who knew Charles P. Stone. Washington was his home, and there he was popular as an officer and a gentleman. When the troubles broke out no man was more active than he in raising troops to sustain the government, and none had been more faithful and zealous in the field. He was never brought to trial, but at the end of a year and a quarter he was discharged and ordered to report to general Banks for duty. Such treatment was cruel in the extreme. I served under him in the summer of 1861, on the upper Potomac, and formed a high estimate of his soldierly qualities.

The news of the surrender of fort Donaldson created the most lively joy throughout the army of the Potomac and the citizens of the federal capital generally. It came at a time when there was great gloom in the country, caused by previous reverses, and it was one of the first clouds with a silver lining that appeared in the horizon. There were hilarious rejoicing at the barracks, in which both officers and men participated. Information of this important victory reached us about the middle of the afternoon, and soon afterward Regan's battery came into the barracks yard and fired a national salute. The reins of discipline were somewhat loosened and the soldiers were allowed to give vent to their patriotic impulses in their own way. In the evening the barracks were handsomely illuminated, and the men indulged in bon-fires, torch-light processions and transparencies. The regimental bands made the air vocal with their patriotic strains, and in response to serenades a few patriotic speeches were made. Our readers will remember how much the victories of Drainsville, Mill Spring and Donaldson cheered the popular heart during that dreary winter. On the few pleasant days the winter furnished we generally had visitors from Washington, or strangers from a distance, who came to view the army. Our extensive barracks were then considered worth seeing, as there was nothing like them in the country. Among the distinguished persons who visited us was Mr. Hawthorne, the author, in company

with a party of ladies from Boston. We also had a visit from Miss Kate Dean, who visited the army of the Potomac on a joint mission of patriotism and money making. She sang several popular airs for the men of the 104th from the door of brigade head quarters, but her lip-service had to be paid for at the rate of about ten dollars the song. Nevertheless they were a pleasant change to the dulness of winter quarters.

The funeral obsequies of general Lander, who died at Winchester, Virginia, the 1st of March, were celebrated in Washington on the 6th instant. The pageant was solemn and attractive. The troops selected for the escort were the 104th Pennsylvania regiment, a section of Tidball's regular artillery, and a company of Rush's lancers, the whole being placed under the command of the writer. One regiment of the brigade, the 11th Maine, was detailed to march in the procession with side arms. The body was at the house of Mr. Chase, whence it was escorted to the church of the Epiphany, where impressive religious services were held. Most of the dignitaries of the government, civil and military, were present, with a large number of friends and strangers. From the church the remains were escorted through the city to the Baltimore depot, where they were put on board the cars for Salem, Massachusetts, his native place. They were accompanied by a guard of honor, composed of commissioned officers, and a small detail from his corps of favorite sharp-shooters. Captain Rogers and W. W. Marple were among the officers sent with the remains. On that occasion I felt more than usual pride in the appearance and performance of the 104th. The men appeared to fine advantage. With full ranks and martial bearing, bright arms, clean uniforms and equipments and white gloves, they attracted great attention. Their march up Pennsylvania avenue, in column by company, with the band playing a solemn dirge, I do not believe was ever excelled, hardly equalled, in the streets of Washington, at least by volunteer troops.

March brought more pleasant weather. The mud now began to



dry up, and a few days of warm sun upon it made the ground dry enough to drill upon. In the simple matter of drill, the troops were hardly as efficient as they were when they went into barracks. But the winter had not been passed entirely without profit. In the intervals of mud, when the ground was hard enough, there was occasional target practice. Two or three times a week the officers recited tactics, going through the various schools, and explaining the movements on the black board. The field officers also held weekly meetings to recite, discuss and explain movements of the line. Our drill ground was on what had been the old Washington race course, out Fourteenth street, just beyond Columbia college, and within a few hundred yards of the barracks. As soon as the ground was dry enough the brigade drill was commenced and continued twice a day, when not engaged in other duties, until the army took the field. Casey's tactics had recently been adopted for the use of the army, and mine was the first brigade to drill in accordance to his system, which was an improvement over those heretofore in use in the service. I am vain enough to believe that the ceremony of dress parade, as performed by the brigade about this time, was not excelled by any similar body of troops around Washington. The four regiments in barracks were drawn up for parade in the square in front of their respective quarters, and went through the different parts of the ceremony in concert at a signal given on the bugle. The men were in full uniform, and clean, and the bands played charming music. The display attracted a number of visitors, and at times several carriages, filled with ladies, were congregated around the flag staff.

Chaplain Gries made himself useful during the winter. He held religious services in his own quarters every evening, and when the weather permitted, preached on the parade ground on Sunday morning. But one person was baptized at the barracks, corporal David Everett, of company F, which took place the 10th of February, in the presence of a large number of officers and men. He

was the first man who made a profession of religion after the regiment left camp Lacey. He was equally a consistent Christian and good soldier during his term of service. For the convenience of officers and men, privates Barnhill and Shuman were detailed as regimental cobblers, and set up in business. The officers subscribed money to purchase an outfit, and while we remained in barracks they did a thriving business. They lost their entire kit during the campaign on the Peninsula. From the time the regiment reached Washington until it took the field, it lost, by death and discharge, thirty-seven men. Of course, among the enlisted men, there was an abundance of amusement and quiet fun. It is related that on one occasion a captain in the regiment was making complaints to quartermaster Hendrie, that the shoes furnished were so enormously large, that he could get none small enough to fit his men. The quartermaster-sergeant, a humorous fellow, was standing by, who, after listening to the complaint of the captain, said to him, "I tell you what to do, captain, put them on some small boy and let them shrink awhile." We were not informed, however, whether the expedient was resorted to. During the winter a general court-martial, of which lieutenant Yardly was Judge Advocate, assembled at the barracks for the trial of offenders in the brigade, and such others as might be brought before it, but I do not remember who, if any, of the men of the 104th were arraigned.

On the 18th of March, Casey's division received an order to march the next morning at ten o'clock. It prescribed that the men were to carry forty rounds of ammunition in their boxes, three days cooked rations in their haversacks, and each commissioned officer was permitted to take a small carpet-bag. A good many things were to be done before the brigade would be in a condition to march. The tents and surplus stores of all kinds, and baggage that could not be taken along, must be turned over to the respective departments, or stored until they could be claimed. The men too sick to march must be placed in hospital. In fine, everything must



be disposed of in some manner, that we could not carry with us into an enemy's country. The accumulations of the winter were numerous, and a number of surplus articles were now found on hand that we did not bring with us from home. The order was received with great satisfaction by the men. The parade ground rang with their shouts and boisterous mirth, which they kept up after it was dark, with the addition of bon-fires. The reveille sounded a little earlier than usual the next morning, and before the hour named in the order had arrived, the brigade was under arms. The division was composed of three brigades—the first commanded by the writer, the second by general Palmer, and the third by general Keim. It numbered fourteen regiments, several of which had just reached Washington and received their arms, and were not in a condition to take the field. The effective strength was about twelve thousand men, with twenty-two pieces of cannon. Shortly before, another regiment had been added to my brigade, the 100th New York, colonel Brown, which made the effective strength a little rising four thousand men. Until we marched, they encamped on Fourteenth street, opposite Columbia college. While we were waiting for the call to "fall in," a mounted orderly came up with a dispatch, announcing a suspension of the marching orders for the present, as I afterwards learned because the transportation was not ready. We returned to barracks, many down in the mouth because the march was suspended, and relapsed again into our old routine. It gave us the benefit of ten days more of drilling, before leaving for the seat of war on the Peninsula.

The order to march, which all had been waiting for with so much anxiety and impatience, came at last. Our division marched the 29th of March. The brigade had been out drilling all the morning, as we did not expect to receive the order that day, and the regiments had been dismissed for dinner, and were returning to their quarters, when an order was put into my hands for us to be ready to march that afternoon at two o'clock. This created great

enthusiasm among the troops, and in a moment all was hurry and bustle to get ready. Dinner was swallowed in a twinkling, and the small quantity of surplus baggage still on hand quickly disposed of. The regiments, in full uniform, were in line soon after two, but the wagons did not arrive until about four. At this hour we were under arms, and at the bugle-signal from head-quarters, took up the line of march down Fourteenth street, followed by the artillery and baggage. The 104th led the division. As the troops marched down this broad avenue to the sounds of martial music from numerous bands, and the rays of the declining sun reflected back from the glittering bayonets and polished equipments of twelve thousand men, the spectacle was unusually fine. The men had put on their best uniforms to march through the city, and appeared clean and neat in every particular. A large crowd of persons had assembled at Willard's, and along the street elsewhere, to witness our passage. We continued down Fourteenth street to the Long bridge, which we crossed, and passing the fortifications which cover it on the Virginia side, turned to the left into the road that leads to Alexandria. We now marched more at leisure. The night was dark and chilly. The men, weighed down with their loaded knapsacks, well-filled haversacks and equipments, and unused to marching, soon became wearied and began to straggle, which increased as we advanced. We reached the outskirts of Alexandria about ten o'clock, and bivouacked in an open field on the road side. The other two brigades came in some time afterward, but it must have been long after midnight before all had got into camp. The men lay down along side the stacks of arms, wrapped in their blankets, but the cold wind drove sleep away from almost every weary lid.

Transportation was not quite ready, and there was another waiting spell. In the morning we changed our location, each brigade by itself. In the absence of tents, the men made very respectable shelter of their rubber blankets, which they buttoned together and put upon a frame of sticks. The middle of the forenoon a cold

storm of rain and snow set in, which continued two days. In two hours the camps were one expanse of slush, mud and water. The change from the barracks was marked and sudden. Division headquarters were in a comfortable house in town, while brigade commanders, at least it was the case with myself, shared with the men the discomfort of the field. That evening I was sitting in my cold tent, looking out upon the dreary scene, and chewing the cud of sweet and bitter fancies, when a tall and rather spare, but gentlemanly, young officer, with captain's straps upon his shoulders, entered and announced himself as aide-de-camp of general McClellan. He inquired, in broken English, whether my brigade was ready to embark, when, receiving an affirmative answer, with a polite bow he withdrew. My visitor was the Duke de Chartres, the Bourbon heir to the throne of France. The brigade was to embark the next morning at six o'clock, on the steamer *Constitution*, for Fortress Monroe. We were in line at four, and marched into town about daylight to go aboard. The vessel was not yet ready, and the men had to stand several hours in a drenching rain, with the mud shoe-top deep. The whole five regiments were got on board during the afternoon, four thousand men on one vessel. She was aground, and could not move. The 104th occupied the upper, or hurricane deck, and entirely without shelter, except the protection their rubber blankets, fastened to the rigging and the sides of the vessel, afforded. The rain fell in torrents through the night, and all were soaked with water. They had been more comfortable amid the slush and mud on shore. The steamer was pronounced top-heavy by the captain, and the 104th was disembarked and placed on the State of Maine, where it had better quarters. When the *Constitution* pulled out into the stream, we left the regiment, under the lieutenant-colonel, standing on the wharf in a drenching rain, waiting for the steamer to haul in. They embarked that after-

noon, and reached their destination in advance of the rest of the brigade.

Before we left the barracks, I appointed lieutenant Hendrie, quartermaster of the 104th, brigade quartermaster, in which capacity he acted to the close of the siege of Yorktown.

## CHAPTER IV.

“On to Richmond.”—The situation.—The enemy leave Manassas.—Army of the Potomac marches.—We leave Alexandria.—Run aground.—Pulled off by tug.—Land at Newport News.—Encamp.—Division marches.—Arrive before Yorktown.—Position of the enemy.—Casey’s division.—Model camp.—Siege operations.—Rain and mud.—Alarms.—Smith attacks.—Naglee takes command of brigade.—Lee’s mills reconnoitered.—Our batteries to open the 6th of May.—Enemy evacuate Yorktown.—Casey’s pickets first in enemy’s works.

OUR readers cannot have forgotten the loud clamor raised soon after the meeting of Congress, in December, 1861, for an onward march of the army. “On to Richmond” was heard on every hand, and was particularly advocated by those who did not intend to do any of the fighting, nor would have to bear the responsibilities of defeat. The way to Richmond was a hard road to travel, as was demonstrated by three subsequent years of fighting, and experience had not yet taught politicians the impossibility of making a winter campaign through the mud of Virginia. To have done so at this period, with raw troops, and suffered defeat, might have endangered the whole cause. While the army of the Potomac was organizing, subsequent to the defeat at Bull Run, the enemy had completed the blockade of the river, and assembled a force at Manassas and other points in front of Washington, estimated at 115,000 men. A strong pressure was made to induce general McClellan to attack this force in the winter, and fight them on their own ground, but was successfully resisted. He might possibly have driven the enemy from

his position at heavy loss, but he subsequently accomplished this without the loss of a man. His refusal to give up the plans which met his own judgment, as well as that of his most experienced officers, engendered against him a hostility which finally cost him his command. The President, unfortunately, gave way to these influences. Without experience or knowledge, he took into his own hands the direction of military operations. On the 31st of January he issued an order from the Executive mansion, directing that all the disposable forces of the army of the Potomac should move forward and seize a point on the railroad south-west of Manassas junction. They were to start not later than the 22d of February. General McClellan wrote an elaborate protest against this movement, and argued in favor of the route by the way of Fortress Monroe, or the line of the Rappahannock, and he induced the President to change his mind. Early in February, the general called a council of war consisting of twelve general officers, which decided, by a vote of eight to four, in favor of a movement down the Chesapeake from Annapolis, up the Rappahannock to Urbana, and thence across the country to Richmond. By some means the enemy had become informed of the proposed operations, and, fearing a flank movement, they evacuated Manassas the beginning of March. A general movement of our army was immediately made in that direction, as much to occupy the troops during the preparations for the Peninsular campaign, now fully resolved upon, as for any other purpose. The bulk of the army proceeded to Fairfax court house. Here a council of war was held on the 13th, attended by the corps commanders, when it was unanimously agreed that operations against Richmond could be best undertaken from Fortress Monroe, by moving up the Peninsula between the York and James rivers. General McClellan had already ordered the transportation from Annapolis to Alexandria. The retreat of the enemy had caused the evacuation of the batteries on the river, and navigation was now unobstructed. The army immediately returned to Alexandria, and began to embark. The com

mand of general Heintzelman was the first to leave, and landed at Fortress Monroe the 23d of March. The remainder of the army followed as rapidly as transportation could be furnished.

The steamer Constitution, on which my brigade, with the exception of the 104th, was embarked, left Alexandria Monday morning, the 1st of April, and steamed down the river. When opposite Maryland point, at noon, she ran aground, and no effort on the part of the captain and crew could get her afloat. Her situation was deemed critical. She was the largest vessel in the world, next to the Great Eastern, and lay fast embedded in the mud with her broadside to the shore, half a mile from it, with thirty-five hundred men on board. She was but twelve miles from Fredericksburg, where rebel troops were stationed; and there was just cause of alarm that the enemy might run a battery down under cover of the night, and sink us. General Casey, who was on board with division headquarters, thought it advisable that we should have some protection through the night. The gunboat Freeborn lay ten miles up the river, and lieutenant West of the general's staff, and myself, volunteered to go in quest of her, and if possible get her to come down and lie by us until morning. We rowed two miles to a small steamer at anchor, which took us up the river to the gunboat, which we found near Budd's ferry. The captain and all the men, except the watch on deck, were turned in, but they immediately got up steam and ran down to the Constitution. As soon as it was daylight, new efforts were made to get her off. Two regiments were temporarily transferred to another steamer, which mean while had come up the river, and water was started in three boilers. The tug then pulled her off the sand-bar. The two regiments were now re-transferred to our decks, when we steamed away for Fortnesss Monroe, where we arrived that evening, and dropped anchor between the fort and the Rip Raps. Near to us lay the little Monitor, which had just achieved a success over the iron-clad Merrimac, and was an object of great interest. She looked not unlike what the rebels called her,



"A cheese-box on a raft." The dentation of the shots on her turret were plainly to be seen at the distance we lay from her, and appeared about the size and depth of an ordinary saucer. The regiments on the Constitution were transferred to small steamers, and taken up to Newport News and disembarked, whence they marched about two miles below and went into camp. The 104th landed on the pier at the fortress, and marched to the camp ground by the way of Hampton.

Couch's division of our corps, the 4th, had preceded us some days and was already in camp in the same vicinity. The 104th pitched their tent in a beautiful peach-orchard, now in full bloom, and near the spot where had formerly been a large farm-house, barn, and outbuildings, which had been burned by the enemy. The destruction was complete; the hearth-stones were removed, and the wells filled up. The dwellings had generally been burned in that vicinity. My men preserved the peach-trees from destruction. The division remained encamped here ten days, the weather being very wet and exceedingly cold most of the time. There was but little opportunity of drill, and the men were principally employed in fatigue and picket duty. The division was reviewed once by general Casey. One afternoon, the rebel ram, Merrimac, came down from Norfolk and cut out some small craft that lay in Hampton creek, which we were obliged to witness without the power to prevent. The Monitor lay opposite the fortress watching her operations, but she kept at a respectful distance from this doughty little Goliath, and gave us no opportunity to witness a combat between these mailed monarchs of the sea. The location of our camp was unhealthy and the men rapidly sickened. Some of the newest regiments brought the measles with them from Washington, and by the time the division marched the disease had spread to such extent, that the second and third brigades were obliged to leave several hundred sick men behind.

General McClellan arrived at Fortress Monroe the 2nd of April.



The army commenced its march toward Yorktown on the 4th, and the next day the advance appeared before the enemy's lines. By the 7th instant, 35,000 men had come up. The march of Casey's division was delayed by the badness of the roads and the want of transportation. On the 9th, the 11th Maine, of my brigade, with a section of artillery were sent up to Young's mill on the James river, which was threatened by the rebel gun-boat Teazer. The division marched on the morning of the 15th for Warwick court-house. The day was warm, and the roads, in many places, exceedingly bad. My brigade was in the advance. It was intended the whole command should bivouac at Young's mill, as that was a good day's march for young troops, but when I arrived there, at 4 P. M., I was ordered to hurry forward, with all possible speed, to re-enforce general Couch at Warwick; who was reported to have had an engagement with the enemy and needed assistance. We reached him about sunset, and bivouacked in an open field, in line of battle. Without rations or camp equipage I was ill-conditioned to pass a comfortable night. By chance I met lieutenant, now colonel, Fisher chief signal officer of the United States army, whose quarters were near at hand. Acting the part of a good Samaritan, he treated me to a ham and egg supper, which fortified me against the inclemency of the night. At a late hour I crept into an unoccupied tent and slept, with my overcoat for bed and bedding. In the morning, the two other brigades of the division came up, and that afternoon we marched to our assigned position in the lines before Yorktown.

When the army reached its position, the enemy was found to occupy the line of the Warwick river, which stretched almost entirely across the peninsula from the York to the James, and was strongly defended by detached redoubts and other earth works mounted with light and heavy guns. Immediately around the village of Yorktown strong bastioned works had been erected, which enclosed the remains of the old revolutionary works, and were connected

with the head waters of the Warwick river by means of strong rifle pits. A large earth work had been thrown up on Gloucester Point, across the York river, which was mounted with heavy guns on the water fronts. Upon a careful reconnoissance of the enemy's defences they were pronounced too strong for assault, and siege operations were considered necessary for their reduction. General Barnard, chief Engineer of the Army of the Potomac, whose opinion is entitled to great weight, did not think these formidable works could be assaulted with any reasonable hope of success, and his judgment was against the attempt. General Keyes, commanding the 4th corps, writes from Warwick court house, under date of the 7th of April, to Mr. Senator Harris, of New York, that "The line in front of us, in the opinion of all military men, who are at all competent to judge, is one of the strongest in the world, and the force of the enemy capable of being increased beyond the numbers we now have to oppose him." The same officer, in his report of the 16th of April, of the reconnoissances made to that period, says,—“No part of the enemy's lines, so far as discovered, can be taken by assault without enormous loss of life.” The troops occupied the following relative positions in line. Heintzelman's corps was on the right, extending from the mouth of Wormley's creek down the Warwick river to a point opposite Winn's mill; Sumner occupied the centre, and Keyes the left, facing Lee's mill, the one gun battery, and other works, and extending all the way to the James river. The enemy had made good use of the little river that flowed in his front. He had built dams across it at several points and so arranged sluiceways as to enable him to inundate an attacking party. The stream was made more valuable to his earth works than an ordinary wet ditch. The enemy's works at most points could only be approached through dense woods and thickets and across swamps.

Casey's division occupied the centre of the 4th corps—Smith being on the right, and Couch on the left. My brigade held the centre of the division. Our camps were at that point known as

Yorktown four corners, four miles from Yorktown and one from Warwick court house. No pains could have given us a more disagreeable position. The late rains had converted the country thereabouts into a quagmire, and we lived in the mud to all intents and purposes. The 104th pitched its tents in an old tobacco field at the forks of the road. The ground was dry when the camp was located, but the first rain changed it into a vast mud hole, and so it continued while the regiment occupied it. It was impossible for the men to keep their clothing or equipments clean. There were swamps on every side, and of evenings the frogs made the air vocal with their croakings. The regiment remained in this mud hole ten days, when the location was changed to a beautiful grove of small pines near us, on a dry sandy ridge. Here a model camp was formed. Broad streets were cut through the pines, leaving trees enough standing for shade and ornament, and a wide space in front, which dropped down with a gentle slope to a small creek, was cleared up for a parade ground. The tents, which were pitched in a fringe of pines left standing for that purpose, were raised high enough from the ground to secure the men from dampness. Bowers and arbors were constructed about the tents, and some companies built tasteful arches over their streets where they debouched on to the parade. Rustic seats were erected in shady places where the occupant could sit and think of home, or reflect on the campaign that lay before him, in quiet seclusion. Sweet singing birds lived in the trees, whose songs of peace and sweet harmony were in delightful contrast to the sounds of war that saluted us on every side. In the rear was dense pine timber, with here and there a clearing. The contrast in comparison with our former camps was so great that officers and men looked upon it as almost a little Paradise. It was known as the Pine Grove camp, and how often, in the after hardships of the Peninsula campaign, did the mind turn back to this quiet and pleasant spot!

From the time the army set down before Yorktown until the

defences were evacuated by the enemy, the siege was carried on actively. The plan of operations for the reduction of the enemy's works, as agreed upon by the engineers, was to establish batteries along his whole front from the York river on the right, to the Warwick on the left, a chord of about a mile in length. Our principal approaches were directed against the east end of the main work, where his heaviest guns were mounted, which bore on the land as well as the water. The severest labor in the matter of building batteries, digging approaches, and mounting guns, devolved on Heintzelman's corps, as it held the ground immediately in front of the town, where the strongest of the enemy's works had been erected. The corps of Keyes, and afterwards the entire left wing under Summer, composed of the two corps of these officers, was principally occupied in ascertaining the nature of the obstacles of the Warwick river, with a view, if possible, of overcoming them. It was part of McClellan's plans to break through the defences on the enemy's left and seize the Williamsburg road which would cut off Yorktown from its supplies and support. The force under general Heintzelman was engaged in a similar effort on the enemy's works between the extreme right and Winn's mill, but on careful reconnoissance it was found that their line could not be broken in that quarter, as the only place of passage was across a dam swept by artillery, and protected by heavy intrenchments constructed in the timber. It was designed to complete the batteries as rapidly as possible and open them simultaneously upon the enemy's works, to silence his guns that swept the neck of land between the head of Wormly's creek and the Warwick; and while their fire was kept down, to push forward the trenches and assault his works. The labor on the batteries, the approaches to them, bridges, and re-opening roads for the movement of troops along the whole line was continued without cessation. The work was laborious and much of it was done in swamps. A good corduroy road was constructed from Yorktown, four corners to the extreme right,

strong enough for the passage of the heaviest artillery. From time to time strong reconnoissances were pushed against the enemy's lines to discover their strong and weak points; and they retaliated by trying to drive in our pickets and take our rifle-pits.

The troops on the left had a full share of the fatigue and picket duty to do. The building of the corduroy road to Cheeseman's landing, where our supplies were delivered, was a work of great labor. It was constructed through the wood and swamp nearly the whole distance, and the men worked constantly in mud and water. Many of the logs cut down for this purpose were a foot in diameter. Drilling was out of the question as the men were all occupied on picket and fatigue. We had a long picket line to maintain, and this duty was rendered doubly severe by the state of the weather. Our lines were not more than two hundred yards apart on the left, but our camps were nearly a mile from the enemy's works and hid from them by the intervening timber. In going to and returning from the picket lines, the men were often obliged to wade through water half-leg deep; and while on duty, had to lie out day and night in the rain, watching the enemy from a fence corner or a brush-heap. Mounted officers floundered through the mud and mire belly-deep to their horses, and when the poor animals sank down in the stiff clay soil, it was painful to see them struggling to regain their footing. Our pickets were frequently fired upon, and often the first salute the new officer of the day received on visiting the lines, was a shot from one of the enemy's batteries. On two occasions lieutenant-colonel Nields and major Gries were fired at by a gun mounted on a large redoubt below Lee's mill, and in both instances the shot was a very good one, and came near sending these officers to their final account.

Now and then our men made a raid across the picket line into the territory of the enemy, and upon one occasion they returned with several head of cattle. At another time they brought off from in front of a rebel battery, an old sulky, an ambulance and a Cones-



toga wagon. These raids were made more in the spirit of fun than otherwise. On the night of the 16th, general Smith, whose division held the right of our corps, made an assault on the works of the enemy across the Warwick river, and was repulsed with considerable loss. Not only was there a heavy force at hand to oppose him, but they opened the sluice-ways of the dam and drowned many of our wounded, and prevented others returning who had crossed over in safety. Alarms were frequent, and the troops were called out at the most unseasonable hours, caused by the scare of some affrighted soldier or inexperienced officer. On the 23d of April I was relieved of the command of the brigade by general Naglee, whom general McClellan ordered to report to general Casey for duty. As I was the only colonel in the division commanding a brigade, I had to give way for a general officer. General Naglee had been commanding a brigade in Hooker's division, but he and the general had had a quarrel, which led to the arrest of Naglee and his being permanently relieved from command in the division. I felt great pride in the brigade, and naturally resigned the command of it with some regret. It was by all odds the best in the division. I had taken the regiments on their first arrival at Washington, the fall before, organized, drilled and disciplined them, and when I gave up the command, I do not believe the brigade was second to any in the army of the Potomac in efficiency. I now had time to devote all my attention to my own regiment. General Naglee was as gallant an officer as could be found in the army, impetuous, and sometimes rash, but just to his officers and men. He soon became proud of the brigade, and thought there was no duty so hard that it could not perform it.

In the last days of April, the enemy was strongly suspected of preparing to evacuate his works, and on the 28th, general Keyes directed general Casey to cause a reconnoissance to be made toward Lee's mill, to discover his movements, if possible. Naglee's brigade was assigned to this duty, and the reconnoissance was made on the afternoon of the 29th instant. The 104th occupied the right

of our line, which was formed in a wood along the Lee's mill road, and about twelve hundred yards in front of the enemy's works. Companies A and B were thrown forward in an open field, and deployed as skirmishers, with company E as a support. The regiment was then advanced two hundred yards to a fence, on the edge of the timber. The brigade rested on this line, while the skirmishers were pushed forward to feel the enemy. Captain Orem, with his company, advanced to within about a hundred and fifty yards of the works, where he found a force drawn up. A few shots were exchanged, by which one of the skirmishers of the 11th Maine was mortally wounded. When his company retired, he was left where he had fallen, at the mercy of the enemy. Captain Orem, with the assistance of three men, brought off the body at great risk. The conduct of the officer who commanded the company of the 11th was such that he could stay in the regiment no longer, and was permitted to resign. The 104th had no casualties; two shells burst close to the regiment, but nobody was hurt. We returned to camp after dark, hungry, cold and muddy. Drummer Somerdyke was so anxious for a fight, that he seized a rifle and went into the ranks. The reconnoissance accomplished the desired object, and demonstrated that the enemy still held his lines in force. It was a small affair, but well conducted, and was a lesson that added to the confidence of the troops.

The siege works had been pushed forward with such commendable activity, in spite of storms and other obstacles, that it was expected the batteries would be ready to open on the enemy on the 6th of May, at the latest. The whole army was in expectation of the assault that would succeed the bombardment. But the enemy did not give us an opportunity to try the range of our heavy guns upon them, but evacuated on the night of the 3d, and retired up the Peninsula. A citizen of Yorktown, who remained there during the siege, stated to me in the fall of 1862, that he often heard the rebel officers, who boarded at his house remark, that McClellan

could drive them out whenever he opened his guns. From observation, they knew his batteries were nearly completed, and therefore showed great prudence in leaving in good season.

There were indications for two or three days before, along our part of the line, that some movement was going on among the enemy, but no reliable information of what it was could be obtained. On the 3d, general Naglee made a personal reconnoissance. After a careful examination of their works, from the tops of the highest trees in the woods, and from the lookouts, he was satisfied he had evacuated his lines from the Warwick to the James, and he did not believe there were then a hundred men in front of Casey's division. He reported the result of his observations to general Casey the same day, but I do not know whether it was transmitted to higher authority. At all events, it was not acted upon. He had evacuated this part of the line undoubtedly before the examination by general Naglee, but the works immediately about Yorktown were held until some time during the night of the 3d, or it was probably the morning of the 4th before the rear guard left. The first positive information that the enemy had evacuated, came from the pickets of our division. About daylight on Sunday morning, some of them carefully approached the works on the right of the defences at Lee's mill, and seeing nobody about ventured nearer and nearer, until at last they stood within the much coveted intrenchments of the enemy. They were silent and deserted, with nothing but the debris of their late camps to tell the story of their occupation.

Soon after the arrival of the regiment at Yorktown four corners, lieutenant Carver, sergeant Ryan, and several enlisted men of the 104th, were detailed to erect towers along the line for the use of the signal corps. Lieutenant Carver had charge of the work, and accomplished it with great success. The towers were built in the timber, and one of them was a hundred and fifteen feet in height. From their top, one could look down into the enemy's



works and observe their movements. When they appeared above the tree tops, the enemy shelled them, but it did not interfere with their completion. When the regiment moved forward, it was so sudden that lieutenant Carver and his party were left at work in the woods, but they rejoined us a few days afterward.

## CHAPTER V.

Evacuation suspected.—We march in pursuit.—Accident.—104th to Grove's wharf.—We return and join in general pursuit.—Join our division.—Bivouac.—Found supper.—Country alive with troops.—Rainy night.—March in morning.—Halt.—Go to support Hooker.—Return.—March to support Hancock.—Bivouac on battle field.—Cause of failure at Williamsburg.—Alarm in night.—Field of battle next morning.—104th marches to fort Magruder.—A wounded enemy.—Light baggage reaches us.—The regiment.

THE suspicion that the enemy had evacuated his works was so strong at general Keyes' head quarters on Saturday night that arrangements were made for pursuit next morning, in case it should turn out to be true. He directed general Casey to send a brigade of infantry, battery of artillery and a squadron of cavalry, in the direction of Grove's wharf, on the James river, to reconnoitre the country well, and try and discover whether any of the enemy had withdrawn by that route. When it was known at head quarters, that the enemy had gone, immediate pursuit was ordered. About 8 o'clock I received a verbal order to get the regiment under arms as soon as possible. In a few minutes it was in line and moved off through the wood and swamps toward the enemy's lines. We did not then know that he had evacuated. Our camp was left standing, with every thing in the tents as though we were going out for drill. Neither officers nor men took overcoat or blanket, except the thoughtful few, who were always prepared for an emergency. We little thought we were bidding a final adieu to the pleasant Pine Grove camp. When the regiment fell in, drummers

Hurtig, Hunter, Smith and Griner, too plucky to be left behind, seized the rifles of sick men and went into the ranks of their companies. Company A, which had just gone on guard, was left to take charge of the camp.

Uniting with the other regiments of the brigade, we hurried for the enemy's works. Company B. was in the advance as skirmishers. The enemy had planted torpedoes in the road that led up to their intrenchments, and care was required to prevent the men treading upon them. One was exploded by a soldier of the 52nd Pennsylvania regiment, which literally tore the poor fellow to pieces and wounded six others of the same company. One of his toes was found in the haversack of his comrade. We found the fortifications entirely deserted, with evidence of hasty departure. The first flag raised over this part of his works was by lieutenant Fisher, of the signal corps. Other brigades came streaming on and soon thousands of men stood in and about the works of our foe. As there was uncertainty what route the enemy had taken, I was ordered to make the reconnoissance toward Grove's wharf, where there was a good place to embark, and go up the James river in boats. Not less than a brigade of infantry was to be assigned to this duty, but I was only allowed to take my own regiment, with two pieces of artillery, and a squadron of regular cavalry. The enemy was not found in that direction. I learned from a negro that a body of troops had taken that road, but the last of them had embarked in steamboats the day before. Having carried out my orders, I returned. Quartermaster Hendrie was now sent back to the camp to make arrangements for getting up our baggage and camp equipage.

In the mean while our division had been replaced by strange troops, and there was no one to whom I could report the result of my reconnoissance. I therefore turned into the Williamsburg road and followed the march of the army as I had been instructed. It was now near the middle of the afternoon, and as my men had been

keeping up for several hours with the cavalry, they were considerably fagged, nevertheless they marched with spirit and enthusiasm. In places the road was fearfully bad, and every where filled with dense masses of troops hurrying forward. At intervals we passed the wreck of a wagon or cart, sticking in the mud, abandoned by the retreating enemy, but very little was left behind that could be carried away. When we reached the road that comes from Yorktown, we encountered another body of troops, the men of Heintzelman and Sumner; whose officers would not permit us to enter their column, and we had to wait for an opening before we could continue the march. We came up with our division about sun-down, which was found bivouacked in a large field four miles below Williamsburg. The regiment was marched to an orchard, where the men stacked arms and lay down to sleep, with no other protection than that afforded by the branches of the trees. As I had not even a cracker in the locker, before I turned in I went out to hunt supper, and instinct directed me to Regan's 7th New York battery, as the most likely place to find it. I was not mistaken. Seated under a tarpaulin stretched from a gun carriage wheel to a tree, I found the captain, his lieutenants and surgeon Van Ettan of the 56th New York regiment, eating a sumptuous meal. The bill of fare consisted of fresh butter, soft bread, milk, fried meat and canned fruit, to say nothing of a little flask of commissary "B," administered at intervals, on the surgeon's certificate, to keep out the dampness. As these gentlemen were my friends, I was cordially welcomed to the mess-chest, and the inward man was made to laugh with gladness. If a hungry officer desires to find good cheer on the march, let him get on the warm side of the light artillery, for there it is always to be found. I spread my friendly old watch coat, which had sheltered me in many a bivouac in the Mexican war, at the roots of a tree, where I snatched a few hours' rest in spite of cold and rain. The country hereabout was alive with troops and wagons, and during the night the air resounded with the neighing of horses and the still

harsher voices of mules. A few prisoners had been picked up and brought to division head quarters, but no information of importance was obtained from them.

As soon as I had been detached toward James river, the balance of the division marched in pursuit of the enemy up the Williamsburg road, Naglee's brigade leading. He led the extreme advance of the infantry. About 2 o'clock in the afternoon he was met by governor Sprague returning from the front, who informed him of the situation of things there, and how necessary it was that infantry should be sent forward immediately. He was already pushing on as rapidly as possible under the orders of general Keyes. In a little while general William F. Smith came up and stopped his march by order of general Sumner. After considerable delay Naglee found Sumner, who, with much hesitation, consented that the troops of Casey might follow Smith's brigade. He was just getting under way again, when Heintzelman came up and ordered him to halt until the whole of his division had passed. When these extraordinary interruptions of the pursuit of the enemy were reported to general Casey, he saw that it was entirely fruitless to attempt to get the advance, or keep it when obtained, and ordered his division to go into camp, where I found it. Because of this interruption in the pursuit no infantry reached the front that day, and our artillery and cavalry were repulsed for want of support. Had Naglee been allowed to push forward, he would, in all probability, have reached Emory in time to intercept the enemy's rear-guard, but which, for want of infantry, was permitted to escape by a circuitous route along the James river.

It rained during Sunday night, and we arose from the ground the next morning, wet, cold and hungry. Our division was under arms at sunrise, and moved out into the main road. Troops, artillery and wagons had been coming up all night, and the road was so much crowded with them, that we were obliged to turn out into the fields and woods to get along. The rain fell in torrents. The

soft soil was cut up into mud shoe top deep: the wagons stuck fast every few rods, and the men labored painfully to drag their sinking feet after them. The brigade was halted in a wood and stacked arms just beyond Cheesecake church. Hereabouts, were a number of brigades of infantry and several batteries of artillery. We had heard the sound of cannon for some time, and knew that a battle was going on in front; and after awhile messengers brought in word that the enemy had turned back, and was engaged with our forces at Williamsburg. Naglee made a few impromptu dispositions to stand on the defensive, should it become necessary. The bushes were cut down, and two pieces of cannon placed in position at the turn in the road. While we lay here, some of my men were able to forage a few chickens, pigs and corn bread from the neighboring farms, for rations had not yet come up, and hungry soldiers in an enemy's country are not apt to be profound respecters of the rights of *meum* and *tuum*.

It was now noon. It had rained all day, and there was hardly a dry soldier, or satisfied stomach in the brigade. Word was now received from the front, that Hooker was hard pushed, and re-enforcements were needed. Naglee's brigade was ordered forward. The men seized their arms, and moved off with alacrity, for any change was preferable to standing in the timber and fields in the rain. Passing by the old church, we struck across the country, through thickets and marshes, over hills and valleys and across water courses, the mud and mire being every where deep. How far we marched I don't know, for I kept reckoning of neither distance nor time, but we were almost within supporting distance, and would soon have debouched on the field of battle, when we were overtaken by a staff officer, with orders to return and go to the support of Hancock, who was engaged with the enemy's left. It was intended, in the first place, that our brigade should re-enforce Hancock, but somebody's stupidity sent us on a wild goose chase several miles out of our way. On facing about, I found that the 104th was alone, the

only regiment that had made this fatiguing march. I received no other order than to return, and therefore marched back to the woods we had started from, where the men were ordered to stack arms. I expected every moment to be joined by the remainder of the brigade, as I did not then know that the other regiments had been halted at the old church, and had some time ago been sent off to reinforce our right. I was in ignorance of what was expected of us. After waiting some time, and hearing nothing of general Naglee or the other regiments, I rode up the Williamsburg road to find some body who could give me orders. I met an aide-de-camp of general Casey, who was hunting us, and by him was ordered to hasten to our extreme right, to the support of Hancock, whither the rest of the brigade was marching. A few moments saw us under way.

The marching, by this time, was more than bad—it was execrable in the extreme. We kept the main road until we reached the Adam's house, where we turned into the fields to the right and struck across the country, following in the track of those who had preceded us. General McClellan, with staff and escort, had come up a little while before, and was near the house giving directions. The troops cheered him loudly as they passed. The out-buildings had been taken for hospital purposes, and a number of wounded had already been brought in and placed in them. Night came on before we reached the front. We had no guide, and our course was directed by stragglers we met coming from the field. The darkness was intense, the mud deep and still raining hard. The other regiments of the brigade were ahead of us so far that we could not overtake them. We reached the field of battle two hours after dark. The battle had ceased, and all had become quiet—the weary soldier had sunk to rest, and the wounded lay down to die. We were lucky in reaching our destination at all that night, for never were tired and hungry soldiers marched over a more infamous road. General Naglee and the four regiments made their appearance at



a critical moment, and while they were not actually under fire, their coming so much inspirited Hancock's men, that they were enabled to make the final charge which gave us the day.

Every great battle is said to be the result of a blunder on the one side or the other, and that of Williamsburg is not an exception. But in this instance there was a double blunder. That of the enemy consisted in not making better time and getting out of the way of our pursuing columns, while ours was in not crushing the entire force sent back to oppose us.

When general McClellan discovered that the enemy had evacuated his lines between the York and James rivers, he ordered the cavalry and four horse batteries in immediate pursuit, with the promise of an infantry support. He directed the divisions of Kearney and Hooker to march on Williamsburg by the direct road from Yorktown, and those of Smith, Couch and Casey by the road from Warwick Court-house. The divisions of Richardson, Sedgwick and Porter were moved up to the immediate vicinity of Yorktown, while that of Franklin, which was on board transports below the town, was got ready to steam up the river and land at West Point and intercept the retreat of the enemy. General Sumner was ordered to proceed to the front and take charge of operations until such time as the Commanding-General should arrive.

Stoneman moved rapidly and overtook Hampton's legion, the rear guard of the enemy, four miles from Williamsburg, where a running fight took place for a couple of miles. Our advance guard was repulsed and fell back to a clearing a mile and a half this side of the enemy's works. Hooker did not march until about two o'clock in the afternoon, and was detained two or three hours by reason of Smith's division blocking up the road before him. I have already detailed how Naglee was prevented supporting Stoneman, and how the rear guard of the enemy escaped. Hooker resumed his march about dark, and turning to the left at Cheesecake church made a detour of three or four miles to endeavor to turn the ene-



my's right. He marched that night until eleven o'clock, when the depth of the mud and the fatigue of his men compelled him to halt. He started early the next morning, and at six and a half o'clock had come up with the enemy's advanced outposts, half a mile from fort Magruder. When the retiring enemy found himself so hard pushed, several thousand men were recalled to fight us at Williamsburg. This became a necessity, to allow the great bulk of the army to escape. Their commander was willing to sacrifice a part to save the remainder.

General Hooker became engaged early in the day, and the battle lasted until evening. It was fought with great stubbornness on both sides. He made urgent requests of the commanding officer on the Yorktown road for re-enforcements, but none were sent him except Keim's brigade and a few other troops. Late in the day Kearny, who was the last to leave Yorktown, came up and relieved Hooker and took command. All this time Sumner was within two or three miles of the field, with thousands of troops at his command, yet it seems that he ordered up only Naglee's brigade to the support of Hooker, and the march of that was countermanded before it reached him. The blundering of the commanders, and the conflict of their orders, well nigh cost us defeat, and will remain one of the marvels of the campaign. The road was fairly choked up with artillery and infantry that should have been hurled upon the enemy, and crushed him before he could have escaped, instead of doing nothing all day.

The Prince de Joinville was with the advance. Seeing how things were going, he rode back to Yorktown about ten o'clock in the forenoon to see general McClellan, who had not yet left there. He said to the general, "You have three old women in the advance who refuse to re-enforce Hooker, who is heavily engaged, and it is necessary that you go to the front." He started as soon as he could, and reached the Adam's house about the middle of the afternoon. In speaking of the battle afterward, I heard general Casey remark

that there was great occasion for a controlling mind on the field; that general McClellan, immediately upon his arrival, saw the weak point of the enemy, and consequently pushed reinforcements to Hancock—that his coming probably saved the day. But for the presence of the rebel ram Merrimac, the battle of Williamsburg would have been made a crushing defeat to the enemy, instead of a victory of doubtful advantage. At this point, the Peninsula is quite narrow, and with gunboats in the James and York rivers, our shells would have overlapped this neck of land, and probably prevented the retreat of the enemy. As it was, he held us in check long enough to enable the main body, with the baggage and heavy guns, to get beyond our reach. He retired during the night, leaving their dead and wounded on the field.

The 104th joined the bivouac of the brigade on the field of battle where we passed the night. The regiments were formed in division columns. The men sat down in their places in ranks in the mud, with their accoutrements on, and held their rifles between their knees. The horses of the mounted officers were kept saddled, and in some instances the riders passed the night in the saddle. Both officers and men were ordered to keep awake, but it was a hard thing to do, and was not always observed. During the night the ear was often saluted by the groans of the wounded enemy who lay near us, by no means a pleasant sound to waiting, expectant soldiers. Toward morning the report of a gun was heard in the wood to our left, which had the effect of a galvanic battery on the strained nerves of the men. The brigade sprang to arms as one man, without command, with a sound like a rushing wind, and was ready for action in a moment. The alarm was caused by some affrighted picket discharging his rifle at an imaginary foe, and as there was no danger at hand, the men were permitted to sit down again. The battle was expected to be renewed in the morning, but when the day dawned, and it was discovered that the

enemy had retired during the night, all concerned were most agreeably disappointed.

The sun arose bright and clear, which, added to the retreat of the enemy, gave a cheerful aspect to the situation. We lay at the head of a plain, flanked on either side by dense wood, extending in a gradual descent two miles to fort Magruder. Near us was a square redoubt, which the enemy had not occupied, in which lay ninety-six of his dead and wounded, mostly North Carolinians. They were lying in the mud just as they had been carried in from the field. Their heart-rending groans, and pitiable condition, added to the unsympathizing gaze of the lookers on, did not present a pleasing picture of war. A short distance from the redoubt a burying-party was collecting the enemy's dead, and preparing to consign them to the narrow trench that shortly received their mortal remains. My men had now been two days without rations, except the little some of them were able to pick up on the road, and the stomachs were in a rebellious condition. Some commissariat wagons come upon the field early in the morning, and I was fortunate enough to procure a few boxes of hard bread, and a little sugar and coffee.

It was yet quite early when I was directed to move with the 104th toward fort Magruder, halt in that vicinity and await further orders. We marched the entire length of the field on which the enemy's left fought the battle of the day before. None of the rebel dead had been removed, except those near the redoubt already mentioned, and their bodies were seen every few yards—in the road, along the sides of the road, in the grass and grain, in the ditches and along the fences. They lie stark and stiff, a ghastly commentary on a nation's quarrel. We halted in a strip of bushes near the fort, where the men stacked arms and lay down to make up the sleep and rest they had lost the night before. We were the advance of the infantry that morning, but numerous other regiments were debouching on to the plain from the openings in the hills and

through the timber, and followed close after us. In the bushes near our bivouac sergeant Widdiefield came across a young South Carolina soldier badly wounded by a musket ball in the groin. He was a pale, delicate-looking youth. He told the usual tale, that he was left there to die after he was of no further service. He had been wounded out on the plain, but had managed to drag himself to the bushes for shelter. My men gave him something to eat from their scanty store, and water from their canteens, as he had had nothing to eat or drink since the day before. He was then turned over to the kind attention of assistant-surgeon Robinson, who dressed his wounds and caused him to be taken to the enemy's hospital at Williamsburg.

Quartermaster Hendrie reached us with the light baggage and rations the next day, but the whole of our baggage did not arrive until the day of the battle of Fair Oaks, the 31st of May. Company A joined us here. The sick men left behind at Pine grove camp were sent to the general hospital at Yorktown; some died, others were discharged, and the remainder rejoined the regiment after a long absence. One of these men deserted, but was afterward apprehended. Private Elias Wolf, company H, was too ill to be removed and died in camp, where he was buried under the shade of the young pines. Another man was reported to captain Rogers as lying at the point of death, for whom he caused a coffin to be made, but he recovered and afterward rejoined the regiment.

The last morning report of the regiment before we marched from Yorktown four corners was rendered the 4th of May, the morning we left. Then we had present thirty-five officers and eight hundred and ten non-commissioned officers and privates. Since we left Washington down to this time eleven had been discharged, one died, and two reported as deserters. The one who died was private Bertols, company A, who had been left behind at Warren hospital. Some of those discharged were absent, sick in hospital, at the time. The day the regiment landed at Fortress Monroe private Garner,

company B., was placed in the hospital there, whence he was discharged, and died at home soon afterward. A few men were sent to the Newport News hospital from the Peach orchard camp, some of whom rejoined us in front of Yorktown. Others died or were discharged.

## CHAPTER VI.

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Williamsburg.—The battle-field.—Burying the dead.—Stoneman continued pursuit.—Army advances.—Bivouac.—Mrs. Pickett's.—Prisoner escapes.—March from Roper's church.—English officer at dinner.—"Pater."—New Kent court house.—Prisoners brought in.—Reconnoissance to Chickahominy.—Army, bivouacs, near Bottom's bridge.—104th crosses over for picket.—Keyes' corps crosses.—Reconnoissance to Savage's station.

WILLIAMSBURG, in appearance, is still a colonial town. As such it was built in colonial times, and has so remained through all the generations that have passed away since its cornerstone was laid, down to the time our army entered and took possession of it the morning after the battle of the 5th of May. The buildings have a very antiquated look, but comfortable, and the hand of the spoiler, modern improvement, had been laid upon it with a very gentle touch. It is the seat of William and Mary college, next to Harvard, the oldest institution of learning in the United States. Principal among the other public buildings, are the residence of Lord Dinmore, while Royal governor of Virginia, a quaint structure, a beautiful and well-arranged Insane Asylum, and the court house. At a later period in the war the college was burned down, its second destruction by fire; the first time being burned by the British during the Revolutionary war. Many of the inhabitants had gone away, while those at home mostly remained within doors. But one man in the whole population publicly announced himself faithful to the old flag, whom neither threats nor persuasion could turn. This was Lemuel Bowden, a distinguished lawyer, who was afterwards elected

United States Senator from the State of East Virginia, but died while a member of that body the third year of the war.

In its day and generation, Williamsburg was an important place. It was once the centre of all that was fashionable and polished and aristocratic in the Old Dominion. Here the Royal governors of Virginia held court with more regal form than any where else this side the Atlantic; when Washington, then a young man, used to ride from Mount Vernon by the way of White House, down the Peninsula, to mingle in the elite society attracted to the colonial capital. Here the great men of the State met at a later period and promulgated ideas that went far toward forming the public opinion that carried our ancestors through the Revolutionary struggle. But its glory hath departed. The town is in decay, and a new population seems needed to save it from ruin.

To the victors was left the duty of burying the dead, and taking care of the wounded of both armies, and it was a sad task, that of going over the battle-field and collecting them together. The former were put into trenches digged near where they fell, and the latter were taken to the town and placed in public and private buildings. Near fort Magruder were several cabins which the enemy had used for barracks, where many of the wounded were carried in the first instance. A rich harvest of dead was gathered there. They were lying in every conceivable position, and in some places so thick on the ground as nearly to touch each other. A considerable portion of the battle field was covered with slashed timber, and bodies were found well-concealed in the bushes, as if the men, after being wounded, had dragged themselves there for shelter. Some of the wounded were not discovered until after the lapse of two or three days, and many, no doubt, died from sheer exposure. One rebel soldier was shot while in the act of ramming a cartridge into his musket, and there he stood, stiff in death, with his ramrod half inserted in the barrel, and the hand raised to force it home. Near a dead rebel officer were lying the bodies of three Federal soldiers,



whom he had apparently shot with his pistol, and was afterward killed himself. Both armies fought in mud half-leg deep. Many incidents of the field were related. It was told me, that one rebel regiment advanced with a white flag, calling to our men not to fire, as they were coming in; but when they had approached near our line, they poured a volley into our men which killed and wounded a number. The white flag was borne by a fat officer, whom a boy in our ranks determined to shoot for his treachery. He snapped his gun at him two or three times, when he sat down and put fresh powder in the cone, fired and killed him.

The next day after the enemy evacuated Williamsburg, general Stoneman, with a force of cavalry, some horse batteries, and two regiments of infantry, went in pursuit, and established himself fifteen or twenty miles from the main body. The army did not move until the morning of the 9th, as it was necessary to wait until the baggage and supplies came up, and the wretched state of the roads somewhat delayed the wagons. In this time the 104th had been rejoined by all the men fit for duty, who had been left behind at camp Scott, and quartermaster Hendrie had brought up a supply of rations. While we lay here, general Naglee seemed apprehensive lest his brigade should have too much rest, and to prevent it, he drilled us in the plain near Magruder.

We marched at 7½ o'clock in the morning. As we filed through Williamsburg the bands played inspiring airs, and many of the inhabitants came to the doors and windows to see the troops pass. General McClellan and staff stood on a porch and received the salute of the army. That day we marched ten miles, and toward evening our division encamped on the farm of a Mrs. Pickett, sister of Mr. Bowden. The roads were bad in places and our long trains cut them up so as to make them almost impassible. We met a number of prisoners, who had been picked up by the advance, going to the rear without a guard. They expressed themselves as already tired of the war, and from their conduct appeared to be willing captives.

McClellan had sent word to Mrs. Pickett that he would quarter with her for the night, and she was making ample preparations to accommodate him. A guard of twenty-four men, in charge of a commissioned officer, was detailed for him from the 104th, and the regimental band was sent over to the house to welcome him on his arrival. He was detained on the road by some engagement and did not arrive that evening. The band serenaded the mistress of the mansion and her daughters, with whom the officers present took a glass of wine. The regiment bivouacked in a field at the edge of a large wood. The negroes of Mrs. Pickett did quite a thriving business in selling corn dodgers to the men, and for that night hard tack was at a discount. The next day we marched to Roper's church, ten miles further. As the bulk of the army moved by the main road, it was completely blocked up with artillery, cavalry, infantry and trains, and the progress was very slow. Our division lay in a large wheat field on the farm of a Mr. Timberlake, whose house accommodated general Casey and staff. The tents of the Commanding-General were pitched in a pleasant grove near the church, and the country around was alive with troops. The army remained here the eleventh and twelfth, waiting for stores and ammunition to be brought up. Arrangements had been made to hang a free negro, named Lightfoot, the morning of the 13th, who had been convicted at Yorktown of having committed a rape upon two white women, but the rascal escaped the night before and saved his neck. He was the servant of an officer on general McClellan's staff. While lying here several officers were arrested for violating the order prohibiting the taking and carrying off private property. Among others was a colonel of our division, who came into camp with two yokes of oxen hitched to an old wagon, loaded with various kinds of plunder, including a considerable quantity of corn meal, the result of his individual foraging on the road. Some of the soldiers were uncharitable enough to say that he had been taught bad habits while sitting as a member of a celebrated con-

gressional committee to investigate frauds, and that we had no right to expect any thing better. The commission of lieutenant Holmes, as assistant commissary of subsistence, with the rank of captain, arrived in the mail on the 12th, and he was mustered in as of that date. Orderly sergeant Fretz was promoted to fill the vacancy thus created in company A. Regimental headquarters were in the shade of a friendly apple tree, where a tent was pitched. The last day of our stay we had as guest, at dinner, lieutenant-colonel Fletcher, of the English Fusileer Guards, serving on the staff of the commanding general.

While we lay at Roper's church we had the last arrival from Pine grove camp, in the person of Peter, a German boy, private servant to major Gries. His adventures on the way were almost as numerous as those of Don Quixote. While the regiment was encamped in the old tobacco field at Yorktown four corners, a very dilapidated vehicle, the remains of a former cart, fell to his possession by reason of the want of an owner. Soon afterward he also fell heir to a mule that was in keeping with the cart; and he picked up enough scraps of leather and pieces of rope about camp to rig a harness and complete his team for the road. After the regiment had marched, Peter loaded the baggage of the major and chaplain into the cart and started toward Richmond. His turn-out attracted great attention. The army produced nothing like it; it was the observed of all observers. His mule was only able to travel a very few miles when he was obliged to stop and encamp. At every halt he set up public-house on the road-side and fed the hungry. A number of soldiers received rations at his board. He stuck fast in the mud an innumerable number of times, but on each occasion, the forlorn appearance of himself and team attracted sympathy and a helping hand. He swore quite equal to uncle Toby in Flanders; but when too mad to give vent to primitive oaths, in a mixture of German and English, he sought refuge in crying. When that failed to bring relief, he was quite in despair.

Messengers from the rear frequently gave notice of Peter's whereabouts, and the tribulations that were his. He finally drove into camp the afternoon before we marched from Roper's church, and he had reason to congratulate himself and the mule in having made the thirty miles inside of a week. "Pater," as the soldiers called him, was quite a character in his way, and was the subject of many a hearty laugh in camp and on the march. He entered on his military career at Washington, but by the time the army reached Harrison's landing he became disgusted and left for home. While we lay here, lieutenant Carver was sent home sick, and assistant-surgeon Robinson was detailed for duty in the general hospital at White House.

The next march was to New Kent court house, a distance of twelve miles. It was one of the most fatiguing the army made on the Peninsula. The men were under arms from 7 o'clock, on the morning of the 13th, until 2 A.M. of the 14th, nineteen hours, without taking off their equipments. There was a halt every few minutes, and it was not a rare thing to keep the men standing in the road an hour at a time. When we moved, it was at an exceedingly slow pace. The delay was said to be caused by the pontoon trains and supply wagons which had got into our front. When we reached our destination, our division was turned into a wheat field at the edge of a wood, where the men lay down and were asleep in a few minutes. It was my ill luck to be division officer of the day, and the pickets and guards had to be looked after before I could turn in; when I made my bed on the ground at the lee side of a brush heap which broke off the wind. New Kent is a hamlet of twenty houses, and hardly presented an attractive feature. The court house, a small and antiquated building, is noted as having been the scene of some of Patrick Henry's forensic displays in early life. The army remained here three days to get up stores from West Point, at the head of York river, whither they had been sent in boats. It will be remembered, that when we moved from Yorktown, two divi-

sions, under Franklin, were sent up the river in transports, under convoy of gunboats, to that point, to endeavor to intercept the retreat of the enemy. A landing was effected, and a spirited action took place, but the enemy was in such large numbers that the gunboats only saved us from a defeat. A depot of supplies was established there until the Richmond and York river railroad was put in running order, when the base of supplies was removed to White House on the Pamunky. The next day after we encamped at New Kent, two rebel officers came in under a flag of truce, under pretence of obtaining permission for a lady to visit her wounded husband at Williamsburg. They were not blindfolded when they came through our lines, and as their object may have been to obtain information, they were detained. When the army moved they were taken to the front, blindfolded, and put outside our lines. They pretended to be highly indignant at this treatment. By this time several officers and men had become too sick to continue the march. Captain Marple and lieutenant Robinson, of company C, were of the number. They were sent down to West Point in ambulances, and thence to hospitals. The latter officer never rejoined his regiment, but was compelled to resign through long-continued illness. Company C was thus left without a commissioned officer, and lieutenant Groff, of company H, was assigned to it. He retained command until subsequently wounded on the 24th inst., at Savage's station. Captain Marple and lieutenant Carver rejoined the regiment in June, on the Chickahominy. Lieutenant Hinkle rejoined us at New Kent, from the recruiting service. While here, a general court martial, which had been assembled before we marched from camp Scott, and of which I was a member, was called together to complete some unfinished business.

The march was resumed at short notice on the afternoon of the 17th, and that evening our division pitched its tents near Baltimore cross roads, seven miles beyond. I was detained with the court martial, and did not reach the regiment until it had encamped

To-day we passed through some beautiful country, and saw a few fine farms, with good improvements, lying some distance off the road. Within a few hundred yards of our own camps stood the residence of Dr. Tazewell Tyler, son of the ex-President, and now a surgeon in the rebel army. The family had fled at our approach, and left the premises in charge of an old black man, with the furniture undisturbed and the books and papers in their customary places. In the office, some one picked up a letter, written in 1839, by Henry A. Wise to John Tyler, in which the rebellion of the slave States was foreshadowed. Here we remained over Sunday, the 104th spending twenty-four hours of their stay on picket, which included all the Sabbath. At sundown, Sunday afternoon, the few men in camp turned out to listen to a discourse by chaplain Gries, which concluded, the regimental band played a few appropriate airs. The troops not on duty had a day of rest. We marched from Baltimore cross roads on Monday morning, the 19th, in a rain, with heavy roads. That afternoon we encamped near the York river railroad, two miles below Dispatch station. Our brigade lay in a wheat field, on the edge of a pine forest, while the army of the Potomac, generally, covered the country south and west of us. General McClellan passed us on the march, and cheer after cheer went up from the boys as they recognized their Commanding-General. By this time, the weather had cleared off and become pleasant again. It was a bright, spring afternoon.

In the evening, I received an order to have my regiment under arms early the next morning, for a reconnoissance toward the Chickahominy. The force detailed was composed of the 104th, one hundred picked men of the 52d, and two companies of the 11th Maine. We marched up the railroad to within a few hundred yards of the river, which is here twelve miles from Richmond, and is crossed by a trestle bridge. The enemy occupied the opposite bank, and had fired the bridge, which was still burning. The part spanning the stream, about sixty feet in length, was destroyed. A



halt was ordered to reconnoitre the position of the enemy and ascertain his probable strength. The river is bordered by a deep swamp, covered with a heavy growth of timber and an almost impenetrable thicket. The detachments of the 11th Maine and 52d Pennsylvania, and companies A, B, E, F, and K, of the 104th, were sent forward in the swamp and deployed as skirmishers along the stream between the railroad and Bottom's bridges, while the other five companies were conducted by their flanks through a swamp and bushes into an open meadow, where they were formed as a support to the skirmishers. In a few minutes the occasional crack of the rifle announced that our men were engaged with the sharpshooters of the enemy. Captain Orem marched his company directly up the railroad to the edge of the swamp and deployed it along the bank. After captain Marple had taken his company into the swamp, a rebel shell ranged along the ranks so close to the heads of the men, that it would probably have killed most of them had they not been ordered to sit down a few minutes before. The enemy had the advantage of occupying higher ground, where his guns were stationed. When the little battalion I led into the meadow took up its position, the guns opened on us from the opposite side of the river and kept up the fire most of the day. Two of our batteries came down and replied; four pieces occupied the hill in our rear, three to our right, on the edge of the railroad, and two just to our left and rear, in the road that leads down to Bottom's bridge. There we were obliged to stand for hours, our own guns firing over us, and the enemy at us, without a chance of replying. The situation was rather an embarrassing one for young troops, but the boys behaved well. We were very fortunate in escaping casualties. The troops returned to camp about dark, with only the loss of one man of the 52d, wounded. From Williamsburg up, our encounters with the enemy had not been any more serious than small cavalry affairs, with little loss on either side. At the crossing of the Chickahominy, and afterward, we were prepared



to meet with a more stubborn resistance. All the way up the Peninsula, we had heard much of what we might expect when we reached this historic stream. The citizens told us the enemy intended to make a stand there, and some of the rebel prisoners whom we encountered threatened us with total defeat on its banks. So much had been said on the subject, that many began to look upon it as another fierce "Bermootha," that Shakspeare wrote about.

The march of the army had been so directed that the corps of Keyes and Heintzelman should approach the Chickahominy at Bottom's bridge, and holding the left, while Porter and Franklin should occupy points higher up the stream, and form the right wing of the army, Sumner marched his corps from West Point direct to Baltimore cross roads, between which and the river he took up his position, with his head-quarters in Dr. Tyler's house. He was so situated as to be able to support either the right or the left wing as the occasion might require. Bottom's bridge had been fixed upon as the place of crossing, and the demonstration of Franklin was only a feint to distract the attention of the enemy. The left wing moved again on the morning of the 21st, the 4th corps leading and halted within a mile and a half of the bridge. Our brigade encamped in a level field skirted by a beautiful pine wood. The men of the 104th had just got their shelter tents pitched, and were congratulating themselves on the prospect of spending a quiet day in camp, when I received an order to march the regiment down to the bridge immediately, and report to the engineer officer in charge. It was received with some grumbling but was obeyed with cheerfulness. On the way down, I overtook general Keyes who told me that general McClellan was in advance and wished me to cross the river and place my regiment on picket. When we arrived at the bridge we found it had been destroyed by the enemy, and our engineers were busily employed rebuilding it. We crossed over in two files, one walking a line of logs, and the other a foot-way of planks connected with the remains of the old

bridge, which had just been thrown across. The horses forded it, the water being deep enough to swim them part of the distance. We advanced about a mile and took up a position to watch the main road coming down from Richmond. Company B was thrown forward a few hundred yards as pickets. The regiment was divided and posted so as to command and enfilade the road where it debouched into the bottom. There was no alarm during the night and we returned to camp in the morning. The 104th was the first entire regiment that crossed the Chickahominy, but a few detached companies, as skirmishers, preceded it over the same afternoon. The next day we again crossed over with considerable force, and made a reconnoissance toward White Oak swamp, but discovered no evidence of the enemy. We were thus engaged until toward evening, when I received an order to return to the old camp for the knapsacks and recross the river the same night, to be at hand for the operations of the morrow. We reached camp about 8 o'clock, when the cooks were put to work to cook rations. This done, we lay down and slept until 2 o'clock, when we packed up and crossed the river for the sixth time. We had left our arms in charge of a guard on the south bank the night before, on our return from the reconnoissance, and we reached the stacks on our return about daylight.

All our sick we left on the north side of the river. The buildings in the neighborhood were taken possession of for hospital purposes; but beyond a roof to shelter them, the accommodations were of the meanest kind. The 104th was obliged to leave several sick men behind. Among the buildings used for their accommodation was an old frame, situated in the midst of the camps, on the Williamsburg road. It had been a tavern in its day, and was now so much dilapidated as hardly to be able to hold together. Into this shanty we carried lieutenant Duncan, sick of typhoid fever, where he was left, with many others, lying on his blanket on the dirty floor. A few miles back a pleasant farm-house, owned

by a widow lady, and known as Rose cottage, was used for a hospital. Not only the house itself, but the barn, the stable, and all the other out-buildings were filled with the sick officers and men.

On the night of the 23rd, general McClellan telegraphed orders for a reconnoissance to be sent out the next morning up the Williamsport road toward the Seven Pines. It had already been attempted by Gregg, Russell and Neil, but they found the enemy in too much force to make headway against him. General Keyes, who was entrusted with this matter, selected Naglee's brigade for the duty. The instructions received from the head quarters of the army of the Potomac were "To advance, if possible, to the Seven Pines, or the forks of the direct road to Richmond and the road turning to the right into the road leading from New bridge to Richmond, and to hold the point if practicable." The country was to be well reconnoitred on both flanks; pickets stationed on all the roads branching off in our rear, and a chain of cavalry sentinels established to communicate with corps head quarters. The general was authorized, generally, to push the reconnoissance as far toward Richmond as practicable, without incurring too much risk. The road referred to, as "turning to the right into the road leading from New bridge to Richmond," was afterward known in the military operations in that vicinity, as the "Nine Mile" road. "Seven Pines" is the point where it comes into the Williamsburg road.

Naglee was able to use only two regiments of his own brigade on this reconnoissance, the 52nd and the 104th Pennsylvania, the place of the absent ones being supplied by the 85th Pennsylvania and the 85th and 98th New York regiments. The remainder of the force consisted of battery H., and Regan's 7th battery, New York artillery, and Gregg's Pennsylvania cavalry. My men had barely time to boil and drink their coffee when an aid-de-camp rode up and ordered us to get under arms. We led the advance up the Williamsburg road, and were soon joined by the other troops. The first

pickets of the enemy were encountered near Mile run, who fell back before us. About 10 o'clock a deserter was brought in, who gave information that the troops in front of us were Hatton's brigade, of five Tennessee regiments, two batteries of artillery and a portion of Stuart's cavalry, the whole being under the command of general Stuart. It commenced to rain soon after we marched, and in a short time the roads were deep with mud. The enemy was found in force just beyond Savage's station, partly concealed by timber. Naglee immediately made the proper disposition to engage him. The 52nd Pennsylvania was formed on the right of the road, with some of the companies deployed, and the 104th in line of battle on the left, covered by a wood in front. Regan's battery was unlimbered on the edge of a piece of timber on the right of the road. Two companies of the 52nd, and A and F of the 104th, under captain Rogers, were thrown forward as skirmishers to clear a grain-field and some farm buildings of rebel sharp shooters on the right of the road; while companies B and D, under command of major Gries, were ordered to clear the wood on the left. The regiment was now moved forward near the wood which the skirmishers entered. The enemy's line of battle was formed behind this wood, three quarters of a mile from the Seven Pines corner, extending across the road, with their artillery partly concealed behind a farm house. The 85th Pennsylvania was pushed up the rail road; the 98th held to support the batteries, and the 85th New York kept in reserve.





*Geo M Grees*  
*Major 104<sup>th</sup> Regt.*

## CHAPTER VII.

Skirmish at Savage's station.—Corp'l. Thompson.—Private Brown killed.—Went into camp.—Advance to Fair Oaks.—Firing between the pickets.—Camp changed to Nine Mile road.—Position of the army.—Casey fortifies.—Storm of May 30th.—Companies go on picket.—Camp of the 104th.—Aid of Gen. Johnston captured.—Enemy determined to attack.—Our pickets driven in.—Regiment gets under arms.—Battle commenced.—Position of Naglee's brigade.—Battle becomes general.—Movement of troops.—Battle closed for the day.—Our loss of ground.—Battle renewed Sunday morning.—Enemy driven from the field.—Conduct of Casey's division.—What the enemy said of it.

THE foregoing was the position of the force at the time this spirited little affair, near Savage's station, commenced. Our skirmishers were no sooner deployed than the enemy opened upon them. On the right they had advanced several hundred yards across intervening fields and an orchard to a wood, which he held in some force. Several of his sharp shooters were collected about the farm buildings, whence they fired on our men as they advanced; but they were driven from the shelter and closely pursued to the wood. These skirmishing operations were in full view from where the six companies of the regiment stood in line, and the gallant conduct of our men was loudly applauded. It had the appearance of a hunt for game. On the left our skirmishers were concealed from view by the timber, but the receding sound of their rifles told us they were driving the enemy. The voluntary had now been well played and it was time for the dancing music to strike up. It was



not delayed. The report of a cannon was heard to the front, and at the same moment, almost, a shell dashed among us, but no one was hurt. Regan's battery replied and shelled the wood and the enemy's position, and with a little practice became quite effective. Major Gries, who by this time had advanced to the front of the wood with his skirmishers, kept the artillery advised whether their shells fell short or went beyond, by sending men to the rear, which enabled the gunners to correct their range. A lively cannonade was maintained for several hours. The heaviest fire of the enemy seemed directed where my six companies were formed, as if they supposed we had a large force drawn up behind the wood. The men stood the shelling admirably. There was a little dodging now and then when an ugly piece of iron came too near one's head to leave much windage, but that is pardonable. The enemy was provided with a great assortment of projectiles, even down to wrought nails. As his batteries had annoyed us considerably it was found necessary to drive them from their position. About half past four our artillery was advanced, supported by cavalry and infantry. Mink's battery, supported by the 104th and 52nd Pennsylvania, and 85th New York, was brought into action within four hundred yards of the enemy's lines, which threw him into confusion and caused him to retire from the field. Naglee was preparing to follow, when an aid from general Keyes came on the ground with an order that there be no further pursuit, lest it "*should bring on a general engagement.*" This closed the action and left the victory with us. Our loss in the skirmish was slight. That of the whole command did not amount to more than a dozen killed and wounded, of which the 104th had one of the former and four of the latter. The first man hit was corporal Thompson of company D., while engaged with the skirmishers in the wood. A rifle ball struck him in the stomach and ranged round to the back where it was taken out. On receiving his wound his conduct was that of a hero. Stepping out of ranks he leaned his rifle against a tree, and remarked to his com-

rades, "*Boys, I am done for, but you stand up to it.*" After suffering eighteen months he died in hospital at Philadelphia. I heard and saw a shell coming through the wood, taking off the tops and limbs of trees in its way. As it appeared to be coming directly toward the spot where I stood I was a good deal interested to know where it would alight. The regiment was then drawn up behind a fence that ran along near the wood. It struck a top rail in front of company C, whence it ricoched, hit private Brown in the head, killing him instantly, and then struck lieutenant Groff, commanding the company, full in the right breast, contusing him severely, besides breaking a rib or two. He was knocked down almost senseless, and the shell fell at his feet. He fully recovered. There were many narrow escapes. Lieutenant Yardley moved his head to one side just in time to prevent a shell, that passed along, taking it off. The rifles were hit in the hands of the men, and one had his mouth filled with dirt by a fragment of a shell that struck near him. The enemy had a man stationed in the top of a tree, at the upper corner of the wood, to direct the fire of their artillery. One of our batteries trained a gun on the tree and at the first fire brought him down. From the information given by the inhabitants, the loss of the enemy must have been quite severe. General Naglee had two horses killed by the enemy's sharp shooters.

After the skirmish we went into camp in the edge of a piece of timber and bushes, and remained there until the next afternoon. It rained from early morning until nearly evening, and the ground was completely saturated and trodden up into mud. Exposure and fatigue had put a number of men on the sick list. Sunday afternoon we moved up the road about a mile and lay all night in the timber, the pickets being advanced several hundred yards. We were under arms again at 3 A. M., Monday morning, the 26th, to continue the reconnoissance, the 104th leading. Captain Davis, of the 52nd, with his skirmishers felt the way in front. An enemy's force of cavalry, infantry and artillery approached the picket line,

but retired without opening on it. They were evidently reconnoitering our position. Our picket line was now advanced to a point five miles from Richmond, and the 104th, the most advanced regiment at the time, was stationed at the Fair Oaks farm house, where there was a large wood pile on the left of the road. The rest of the brigade was but a short distance in our rear. The same day the whole division moved up and established itself at the Seven Pines. Later in the day the other four regiments of Naglee's brigade were brought to the front and encamped on a line with us, the 104th being the only regiment on the left of the road. We did not pitch our tents. The rifles were stacked in a lane that ran between the house and barn. The first twenty-four hours the men remained day and night by their arms and did not take off their equipments. Two brass six pounders were stationed in the road on our right.

We occupied this situation three days, furnishing details for picket, and supporting the line. As it was much exposed, we were frequently under arms day and night. There was constant firing between the pickets of the two armies, and the casualties frequent. A number of the enemy was brought in, deserters and prisoners, some of the latter wounded. During the night of the 27th, there was some unusual stir among the enemy in our immediate front. The rumbling of wagons and artillery carriages, and the word of command of officers could be distinctly heard, and lasted several hours. Prisoners who came in the next day, reported that it was a change of the brigade on picket. He was probably then getting his troops on the field for the battle which was fought on the 31st. On the night of the 28th, I was sent to the lines to receive, and escort to division head quarters, a commissioner appointed by the legislature of Virginia to visit the Insane Asylum at Williamsburg. The night was intensely dark, and the recent heavy rains had rendered the roads almost impassable. A day or two after we came to the front, we were ordered to send all baggage across the Chickahominy, in order to have it out of the way in case of an attack.

Those who disobeyed, were rewarded by losing all their effects in the engagement that followed. On the morning of the 29th, the camp of the 104th was moved over to the Nine Mile road, a quarter of a mile to the right of our old position, and on the same ground where the 52d had been encamped. The day before, general Keyes had ordered Casey to move forward the other two brigades of his division to the clearing around Fair Oaks, which was the occasion of our change of location. Couch's division at the same time was ordered to move up and occupy Casey's old ground at Seven Pines. The regiment was encamped in the bushes, with head quarters in an old log cabin that stood on the road-side. A space twenty feet wide was cleared in front of the camp for the color line, and an opening made through the bushes to the left, to enable the regiment to march out by the flank to the Williamsburg road. The other regiments of the brigade were encamped in our vicinity, and our picket line extended past Garnet's house down to the Chickahominy.

The position of the troops on the south bank of the Chickahominy, on the 30th of May, was as follows, viz.: Casey's on both sides the Williamsburg road at Fair Oaks; Couch's division at the Seven Pines, half a mile in the rear; Kearney's division was stretched along the Richmond and York river railroad, from near Savage's station back to the bridge across the river. Hooker's division was posted on the edge of White Oak swamp, to watch the crossing. The rest of the army of the Potomac was on the north bank, Sumner's corps lying about six miles above Bottom's bridge. Naglee's brigade held the advance of the army. As soon as Casey was in position, he went to work to fortify. He threw up a redoubt on the left of the Williamsburg road, with rifle-pits on either side, and a heavy abattis was formed by slashing the timber in front of the camps. The troops were kept hard at work strengthening the position down to the very moment the action began. General Naglee was engaged, with a strong detail from his own command, building a bridge over the Chickahominy at a point opposite where Sumner lay. The pio-

near corps of the 104th was at work on it when the firing commenced, and were obliged to remain there a couple of days before they were able to return. This was called the Grapevine bridge, but when afterward rebuilt by the engineers, was named the Woodbury. The country around Fair Oaks and Seven Pines is level, heavily timbered, with a dense growth of underbrush, and swampy. On the left of our position, the picket line extended to the White Oak swamp.

The march up the Peninsula, and the hardship and exposure incident to it, had a telling effect on the physical condition of the regiment. The morning report, on the 27th of May, showed 31 officers and 665 enlisted men for duty, a reduction of 151 men in less than seven weeks, all by disease, except about half a dozen. Between the 3rd and 19th, 103 men were sent to the rear, sick. Besides the officers already named as having fallen sick on the march, lieutenant-colonel Nields was disabled by a sunstroke on the 27th, and went north. He returned for duty the 16th of June.

We were in too close contact with the enemy to remain long without a battle, but it came sooner than was expected. The night of the 30th of May will long be remembered by the old army of the Potomac on account of the fearful storm that prevailed. The rain fell in torrents; the lightning flashed with unusual vividness, and the thunder was fearful. It would have required no great stretch of the imagination to believe a great battle going on between the opposing armies. The storm seemed prophetic of the terrible engagement that followed. The country was flooded with water, and the low swampy ground was converted into an almost impassable quagmire. The Chickahominy overflowed its banks, and threatened the destruction of all the bridges. Bottom's bridge, the reliable connection between the two wings of the army, was considerably damaged.

Friday afternoon company F, under command of lieutenant Hibbs,

went out on picket, and relieved company H. Saturday morning company E, under captain Harvey, relieved B, and company K was detailed to go out to relieve F. It was ready to leave camp when the regiment was formed for action, but fell into line with the other seven companies. The sun rose clear that morning, and the day was warmer than usual for the season. The forenoon was unusually quiet. We had no suspicion of an engagement at our headquarters. The chaplain was engaged most of the morning replenishing the mess chest of the field and staff, which, during the late operations, had become much reduced. He filled it with a supply for several days. Little did he imagine at the time that none of the rations he was providing with such care would be eaten by the mess. He was laying up a store of good things for the enemy. The evening before, captain Duncan and lieutenant Artman obtained permission to visit the field hospitals across the Chickahominy, and went down the railroad in the morning train. The captain removed his brother, who had been left sick on the march, to White House, whence he was sent north to recover. Mr. Artman went down to look after a sick man of his company who had been left on the road up. He was found too sick to be removed and died before night. His name was Joseph Heist, of company D. Captain Duncan did not return until the next day: but lieutenant Artman returned to the front some time in the afternoon and joined a Michigan regiment.

About 10 o'clock, a. m., some of the pickets of our brigade captured and brought in a rebel officer, who proved to be an aid-de-camp of general Johnston. He was conducted to the rear, through the camp of the 104th, down the Nine Mile road. A staff-officer of the enemy's commander-in-chief being found inside our lines, connected with the fact that the cars were running out of Richmond all the night before, was a suspicious circumstance. The enemy was about to attack us. Taking advantage of the unfavorable situation of our army, communication between the two wings



being apparently cut off, by the rapid rise in the river and the partial destruction of the bridges, he determined to fall upon and crush the left wing before reinforcements could arrive. For this purpose the grand divisions of generals Hill, Huger, Longstreet and G. W. Smith were to be hurled upon Casey's weak division on the 31st of May. Before noon on that day the conviction at headquarters that the enemy would attack us became so strong, that all the troops of the 4th corps were got under arms and the artillery horses harnessed. About half past 11 o'clock three shells fired from his lines fell within our camps, the signal, as we afterwards learned, for his movement to begin. An hour afterward his troops commenced driving in our pickets on the Williamsburg road. A regiment was sent out to reinforce them, but that was soon compelled to retire and the enemy came crushing through the woods and bushes to our first line of battle.

In the camp of the 104th we had no expectation of a battle. The men were lolling about in the shade of the forest trees after dinner. At regimental headquarters the mess were sitting in front of the cabin they occupied, discussing the events of the campaign. Shortly after 12 o'clock, an aid of general Casey came galloping across to my quarters with an order for the regiment to get under arms immediately. The line was formed in a few minutes. The alarm was supposed to be caused by an ordinary daily attack on the pickets. In a few moments another order was received for the regiment to march out by the left flank and support Spratt's battery, near the Williamsburg road. We formed on the right of the artillery on the edge of the timber, and a little in the rear of the battery. In our immediate front was a clearing of considerable extent affording us a good opportunity to fire upon the enemy as he advanced. The battery consisted of six ten-pounder rifle Parrott's. It was my intention to cause the regiment to lie down in the timber for protection until the enemy should advance within close range, but they were not permitted to remain where I placed them. The



line was hardly dressed when an aid directed me to advance the regiment about two hundred yards into the clearing and move to the right, which was done as quickly as possible. We were now about one hundred yards in front of the battery we were sent to support. Our position was unfortunate as it prevented the guns playing on the enemy, except directly in front, and exposed us to a concentrated fire.

The battle commenced about 1 o'clock. At this time, the divisions of Casey and Couch were the only troops at the front in a position to offer immediate resistance to the advance of the enemy. These were posted as follows:—Naglee's brigade on the right of the Williamsburg road extending to Garnett's field, with one regiment across the railroad; Wessel's brigade was on the left of the Williamsburg road, a portion of it in the rifle-pits; while Palmer's brigade was in the rear of Wessel's, in reserve. The batteries were harnessed and occupied favorable positions. The division of Couch was on the left, posted at the Seven Pines, more than half a mile in the rear, and extending along the Nine Mile road, and across the railroad near Fair Oak's station. Besides these, the nearest supporting troops were Hooker's division between Bottom's bridge and White Oak Swamp, several miles in the rear. The action became general as soon as the pickets were driven in. Casey was attacked by an overwhelming force in front and on both flanks at the same time, and after more than two hours' severe fighting, was obliged to give way. Couch was sent forward to his support, but was not able to resist the superior numbers of the enemy. General Keyes sent to Heintzelman for reinforcements, but his leading brigade did not arrive until 5 o'clock, P. M., too late to recover the ground already lost. General Sumner crossed the Chickahominy with two divisions at half-past 2 o'clock, and hastened to the front as rapidly as possible. It was late in the day when he reached such position as enabled him to participate in the battle. A large column of the enemy attempted to turn our right

flank on the right of the railroad, and which had overpowered a brigade of Couch's division sent to stop its advance, now met Sumner coming upon the field, and was checked and turned back with large loss. Couch, meanwhile, had turned upon his pursuers, and was gallantly holding them at bay when Sumner's columns came up. Naglee's brigade, on the right of the first line, fought unaided, and troops never made a better defence against overpowering numbers, but he was obliged to fall back, and for the balance of the day, his regiments united with those of the second line. Sumner opened communication with our forces on the Williamsburg road, and maintained a bloody contest with the enemy until night put an end to the battle. The enemy pushed a large force round our left flank but was partially checked. The brigades of Jameson and Berry, which had been pushed forward up the Williamsburg road, one on the right, and the other on left, so as to check the advance of the enemy in that direction, were cut off from our army, and were only able to regain our camps by a night march toward White Oak swamp. General Hooker was ordered up from White Oak swamp, but it was dark before he arrived at Savage's station, three miles from the field of battle. The badness of the roads greatly retarded the march of his and Sumner's column. When the battle closed for the day, our advance was at the rifle-pits, in rear of the Seven Pines. The result of the struggle was, that the enemy occupied all the camps of Casey's division, and the greater part of those of Couch. Our line on the Williamsburg road, from where the extreme picket rested in the morning, to that occupied now, had been forced back full three quarters of a mile; and at other points, a greater or less distance according to the shape of our line.

During Saturday night, dispositions were made to renew the battle the next morning, should the enemy show a desire to continue it. The troops which had borne the brunt of the fight on the 31st of May, many of the regiments and brigades being much shattered, were collected together and reorganized. Some of them occupied the

rifle pits near Seven Pines that night, many of whom, after being driven from the field re-entered the action later in the day and did good service. Fresh troops were ordered up. Hooker's division bivouacked about Savage's station. Richardson's division came upon the field between sunset and dark, arriving from the north bank of the Chickahominy, which he had much difficulty in crossing. The mud was so deep that he was compelled to leave all his artillery behind, but it was brought up during the night. Sedgwick's division, of Sumner's corps, held substantially the same position he occupied across the railroad, when the battle of Saturday had ceased. Richardson was placed on his left to connect with Kearney. French's brigade was posted along the railroad, while Howard and Meagher formed the second and third lines. This disposition was mainly on the right of the railroad. On its left, and between it and the Williamsburg road, and on both sides of the latter, were the remains of the divisions of Casey and Couch, Hooker's division, and other troops whose designation I do not remember. The enemy commenced skirmishing with Richardson's division shortly after daylight on Sunday morning, and soon afterward he opened a heavy fire of musketry along the whole line, and advanced in column of attack. The firing continued for an hour when he was repulsed. When Hooker heard the firing he advanced up the railroad with his division. The enemy made a stout resistance, but was pushed back and finally driven from the field. The loss was light compared with that of the day before, and the fighting by no means of so sanguinary a character. The greater part of the battle-field of Saturday was again in our possession, and our lines re-established, but some way inside of those we held before the attack on the 31st ultimo.

The conduct of Casey's division, at Fair Oaks, has been severely, and *most unjustly*, criticized. The telegraphic report of the battle to the war department, by general McClellan, stated that it "gave way unaccountably and discreditably." This report was made on

the strength of information furnished by general Heintzelman, the evening of the battle. He sent a dispatch about 9 o'clock to McClellan, stating that when he got to the front, "the most of general Casey's division had dispersed," and that he "saw no reason why we should have been driven back." So far as general Heintzelman is concerned, it may be asked whether he was in a position to judge of the conduct of Casey's division? I do not think he was. He was not on the field where the heavy fighting was done that afternoon. His head-quarters were several miles in the rear, toward White Oak swamp, and by reason of delay, the request for reinforcements did not reach him until about three o'clock, and it was five o'clock when his advance arrived at our then front. The battle had then been progressing four hours, and was nearly over; the enemy was in possession of the camps of both Casey's and Couch's divisions, and the troops of Heintzelman did not get nearer than half a mile of the ground on which Casey fought for two hours before he was driven back. By five o'clock he had his head-quarters established in the yard at Mr. Savage's house, three miles from the field, where a part of his staff, at least, remained the afternoon; and admitting that he went as far toward the front as his troops, which is not often the case with corps commanders, he was not in a very good position to judge why Casey "was driven back." Neither he nor his troops saw the most stubborn fighting of the day.

Heintzelman has the reputation of being the enemy of general Casey, a reason with many why he could *not see* how he came to be "driven back." The official report tells why. It says: "The enemy came on in heavy force, attacking general Casey simultaneously in front and on both flanks. General Naglee's brigade, with the batteries of general Casey's division, which general Naglee directed, struggled gallantly to maintain the redoubt and rifle-pits against the overwhelming masses of the enemy. They were reinforced by one regiment from general Peck's brigade. The left of

this position was, however, soon turned, and a sharp cross-fire opened upon the gunners and the men in the rifle-pits: some of the guns in the redoubt were taken, and the whole line was driven back upon the position occupied by general Couch." McClellan very clearly answers the question: Casey's division "was driven back by the overwhelming masses of the enemy." If general Heintzelman had made proper inquiry of those who knew, he would not have had occasion to send that unjust dispatch. General McClellan corrected his first erroneous impression of the conduct of Casey's division, but so far as I am informed, Heintzelman never has. If more testimony were required on the point, we have it in the return of the casualties on that day. The total loss is five thousand, seven hundred and thirty-seven, of which Keyes' corps, consisting of the divisions of Casey and Couch, sustained three thousand, one hundred and twenty, while the loss of all the rest of the army was but two thousand, six hundred and seventeen. Casey's weak division alone sustained a loss of about seventeen hundred, one-third of the entire casualties on that bloody day. These facts speak for themselves, and an unprejudiced public can determine whether there was a reason for the division giving way. General Heintzelman "saw no reason," because he was not in the proper place to see it. The losses are evidence that the division did not retire without making proper resistance. That night Heintzelman took a train at Savage's station and went down to Cold Harbor to visit the General-in-Chief.

If other evidence be wanting, it is fortunately at hand. It comes from those who were then our enemy, and their testimony is supposed to be at least disinterested. Colonel Switzer, of McClellan's staff, who had charge of the exchange of prisoners on James river, in the fall of 1862, says, that in a conversation with major-general Hill, who commanded the rebel advance at Seven Pines or Fair Oaks, he asked that general's opinion respecting the conduct of general Casey's troops there. General Hill said:

"I know general Casey's division has been censured, but we are surprised at it. The division fought as well as I ever want to see men fight, and after it gave way before our superior numbers, we had nothing more to fight."

What further testimony can one desire? I cannot close this chapter without paying a just tribute to the gallantry of generals Casey and Naglee. The former sat on his large, iron gray horse, on the Williamsburg road, in the thickest of the fight, encouraging his troops. He was right up at the front, where division commanders do not always go. I particularly noticed his exposed situation, and do not see how he escaped the storm of bullets. Naglee was every where. He is a sort of thunderbolt in battle. He was away on the extreme right of our lines when the volley of the 104th announced that the battle had begun on the left. He came dashing toward us through field and wood to be with his brigade. In the warmest of the contest he dashed by the regiment, cap in hand, the men giving him three hearty cheers, and passed toward the left. He was now seen directing a battery, now rallying a regiment, and until the battle ended, he was in the midst of it wherever he could be of service. These two officers retain in a large degree the confidence and esteem of the men who served under them.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Battle of Fair Oaks.—104th Fires First Volley.—Position of Regiment.—Hard pressed.—A Charge made.—Flag in danger.—How rescued.—Major Gries wounded.—Wagons sent to rear.—Regiment retires.—23d Pennsylvania.—Chaplain Gries and wounded.—Companies E and F on picket.—Regiment reformed.—Continued fighting.—Loss of camp equipage.—Men captured.—Lieut. McDowell.—Burying the dead.—Gloomy time after battle.—Regiment inspected.

I DO not profess to give a detailed account of the military operations on the Peninsula, as I am not writing a history of the campaign, but that of a single regiment of the Army of the Potomac. The 104th opened the battle at Fair Oaks and was the first to receive the overwhelming shock of the enemy. It was drawn up in advance of the rest of the division, and was the only regiment on the right of the Williamsburg road within sight at the time the action began. It stood quite alone. When we moved out into the clearing, the new line was dressed with almost the same precision as at an evening parade, and the guides had hardly been called to their posts before the bullets of the enemy began to fall into our ranks. It delivered the first fire on that eventful day, which was a general volley that sent four hundred rifle bullets whistling among the enemy. This announced to the army that the battle was begun. The wood in front, within good range, was filled with the enemy and the execution must have been considerable. The action immediately became general, both parties loading and



firing as rapidly as possible. My men began to fall, killed and wounded—the former, of course, remaining where they fell, while most of the latter were taken from the field. The fire grew hotter and hotter, but the men stood up to the bloody work firmly, and were as cheerful as on parade. The line had been dressed in a clear up furrow, where cartridge papers lay by the basket full. The right rested on the timber. Seeing the enemy was making a movement to outflank us in that direction, companies A and B were pushed into the wood to prevent it. Meanwhile he had come out of the timber in front of us into the clearing in great force, and was re-forming his broken ranks rapidly without slackening his fire. At this time a large white flag, with a black square in the middle, was observed in his ranks. My men supposed it to be a flag of truce, and some of them asked what should be done, when they were directed to fire at it as rapidly as possible. A volley brought down the bearer, when it was immediately seized and raised by another. Soon afterward they raised their new national flag, a white cross with stars, on a blue field. Many of the men had white muslin tied around their hats.

The regiment had now been under fire for an hour and a half, and a large number of men had fallen. The line had been maintained unusually well, and the men fought more like veterans of a hundred battles than being under fire for almost the first time. The enemy was pressing us in front and flank, and his fire had become so warm as to endanger the battery we were supporting. He approached within a short distance of our right. At this crisis, I determined to order a charge, thinking it might check his advance. I had no expectation of crossing bayonets with the foe, a thing which is rarely done on the field of battle, but I hoped to gain time. After consulting with major Gries, whose judgment agreed with mine, the men were ordered to cease firing and fix bayonets, which was done with great promptness considering their excited condition. The command was then given, "*Charge bayonets! for-*

*ward, double-quick! march!"* when the men sprang forward toward the enemy, with a tremendous yell. We advanced about a hundred yards over a piece of ground covered with dwarf bushes. In the way was an old worm fence that had not been observed before, which cut the old line of battle at an angle of about thirty-seven degrees. The men sprang over this obstacle into the clearing where the enemy was, and immediately began to reform and open fire. Both flags were carried over the fence by their bearers, who stuck the staffs into the ground and lay down by them. This movement had the desired effect. It was fool-hardy under the circumstances, but it staggered the enemy, and the heavy fire at once re-opened kept them in check. Seeing we must relinquish the ground unless soon re-enforced, I dispatched lieutenant Ashenfelter across to the Williamsburg road to request general Casey to send a regiment to support us. He passed twice between the fire of both armies and returned unharmed. The general desired us to hold on a few minutes longer, when re-enforcements would be sent us. It must be understood that at this time the 104th was engaged single-handed in front of the line of the army with a greatly superior force.

Three hours had now elapsed since the regiment went into action and more than one-third of the men had fallen;—our promised re-enforcements did not arrive, and we could hold the ground no longer. There was no order given to retire, but we were literally pushed back by the superior force of the enemy pressing against us. Individual soldiers came almost near enough to strike my men with the musket. The regiment retired slowly and sullenly, not an officer or man running. The enemy made a bold effort to capture our colors. In the excitement and confusion of retiring one flag was left on his side of the fence, the staff still sticking in the ground. Those nearest to it were ordered to rescue it, when major Gries, orderly-sergeant Myers, and color-sergeant Purcell sprang for it. Purcell had already secured his own standard, and with it in his

hand he jumped over the fence and seized the other. The enemy saw the movement and several of his men rushed for it at the same time, while they kept up their fire, but they were not quick enough. Purcell reached it first, seized the staff and sprang for the fence with both flags in his hands. As he mounted the fence he was struck by a bullet and knocked over, carrying the colors with him. When he got up he handed one flag to sergeant Myers, and started to the rear with the other, but becoming faint from loss of blood, he gave it to corporal Michener, who brought it off in safety. Both flags were delivered to the regiment that evening after the battle. It was in the attempt to save the flag that Major Gries received the wound of which he afterward died.

When the firing commenced quartermaster Hendrie loaded up the regimental wagons and sent them to the rear, under charge of sergeant White, who conducted them to near Savage's station. Surgeon Peck, with the medical department, retired early to the same place, more than three miles to the rear; and as assistant-surgeon Robinson did not rejoin the regiment, from detached duty, until next day, we were left without a medical officer at the front. Chaplain Gries, who had some previous knowledge of the healing art, remained at the camp, which was under fire, and rendered valuable services in dressing the wounded. When the regiment retired from the field, the enemy was pressing us on both flanks, and in a few minutes our retreat would have been cut off. He was already shooting down the horses of our battery, which was some way in the rear of our line of battle. All the pieces had been hauled off before this, and one caisson only fell into his hands. A number of our men were left on the field, and about twenty of them were found the following Monday in a small house just to the left of our last line of battle. They had crawled, or been carried, there after the battle. Many of the men emptied their cartridge boxes, and they obtained a fresh supply from the boxes of their dead and wounded companions, lying around them. The rifles had been dis-

charged so often that the barrels were hot enough to burn the hand. The grooves had become furred up, and I noticed some of the men place their ramrod against a tree to force the cartridge home.

When I reached my own camp, which was not more than three hundred yards from where the battle had been fought down to this time, I found some fifty of my men and a few officers there. The others had gone down the Nine Mile road, and captain Rogers was dispatched to halt them. Our little cabin was filled with wounded, and chaplain Gries was sending them to the rear in ambulances as fast as he could. The 23d Pennsylvania regiment, under major Ely, was drawn up in my camp, and I directed captain Walters to collect the men of the 104th and cause them to fall into ranks on his left. The fire of the enemy soon became so warm at this point that our force was obliged to retire, as we were completely flanked, and sought a securer position further to the rear. An hour before I had received a wound from a rifle ball in the left elbow joint, which now becoming very painful, I went to the field hospital, where it was examined and dressed by surgeon Van Ettan, of the 56th New York, and assistant-surgeon Stavely, of the 103d Pennsylvania. I did not rejoin my regiment again that day until near sunset, when the battle had ceased.

Many of the wounded are indebted to chaplain Gries for being taken to the rear and escaping falling into the hands of the enemy. When he heard the regiment was falling back, he seized three ambulances that stood near our camp, and putting his brother, the major, and the worst wounded men into them, hurried them, and such other men as could walk, down the Nine Mile road. He came out on the Williamsburg road near the Seven Pines, and continued down it to Savage's station, through the mud and the crowds of wounded hurrying to the rear. Surgeon Peck had already arrived there. Mr. Gries asked a staff officer of general Heintzelman some question as to the disposition of the wounded, and received in reply, "Don't know, Sir, we have nothing to do with that, Sir." Satis-

fied that he could expect no assistance from that quarter, he acted on the authority of necessity and humanity, and seized the kitchen and other out-buildings, which were soon filled with wounded. The barn and carriage-house were next filled—when he caused the cows to be turned from the stable, which was bedded with clean corn-fodder to receive the stream of disabled men. The chaplain was engaged until 11 o'clock dressing wounds. One train of cars, filled with the wounded, had already been sent off to the White House, and its return anxiously awaited to carry others down. It returned about midnight, and the worst wounded were carried down to the station and put aboard. They were ordered off, and the locomotive was taken to convey general Heintzelman down to see general McClellan. The wounded, who could not be carried back to the barn, were obliged to lie in the rain until day-break, when the train returned to take them down. It was a night of agonizing pain to many, and before morning dawned, a number had died. The accommodations for the wounded were of the most meager kind, scarce worthy to be called such. Captain Holmes, who was on duty at the commissary depot, at the station, was exceedingly kind to the wounded, and assisted the chaplain in taking care of them.

As has been already mentioned, company F went on picket Friday afternoon. It was under the command of lieutenant Hibbs, the captain remaining in camp. The company was stationed as a reserve on the left of the railroad, about five hundred yards from where it is crossed by the Nine Mile road. At noon, lieutenant Albertson came from the front and reported a brigade of the enemy as crossing the railroad and moving toward the Williamsburg road, half a mile beyond our lines. About the same time they heard the report of the three guns, the enemy's signal for the attack to begin. Shortly afterward, company F and two companies of the 11th Maine fell back and joined the 56th New York, under lieutenant-colonel Jourdan. They moved down the Nine Mile road, the enemy opening upon them mean while with artillery, and killing one man of

the 56th. Lieutenant Hibbs met captain Johnston, of general Naglee's staff, and by him was ordered to support a battery he pointed out. He marched to obey the orders, but when near the old camps of Couch's division, captain Marple came up and took command of the company. They continued to fall back until just in rear of the 23d Pennsylvania, when a halt was ordered, and a line formed just behind a natural swell in the ground. The command was composed of men of the 56th New York, 104th Pennsylvania, and from such other regiments as could be collected at that point. In numbers it made a respectable battalion. Company F was on the left, and extended across the Nine Mile road; the battery still further to the left. Soon they were joined by captains Rogers, Corcoran and Swartzlander, and lieutenants Heaney, McCoy and Ashenfelter, and quartermaster Hendrie. Major Sharp of the 56th New York, being the ranking officer present, assumed command. Just before this time, Corcoran and Hendrie had collected a few men to make a stand, which general Keyes had placed in command of the captain.

About the time Sharp's battalion was formed, general Kearney rode up and assumed their direction. He ordered them to advance to the top of the knoll, and lie down to await the enemy. Soon the rebel column made its appearance coming through the timber, turning their right flank. He now poured into our troops a warm fire, which made their position untenable. The firing lasted about twenty minutes before the line gave way, our men having but little opportunity to reply. Here Swartzlander and Corcoran were both badly wounded. It was not far from half-past 5 o'clock. Our force now broke and retired. Hendrie and McCoy went to the rear in company, taking the direction of some old buildings that stood near the Nine Mile road, and about a hundred yards in rear of the place where the last stand was made. Hendrie passed round the right of the buildings to attempt to reach the Williamsburg road, where he met a volley from the woods, which wounded him badly in the left arm. He managed to walk until he met an ambulance, which took



him to the hospital. Lieutenant McCoy escaped unhurt. Lieutenant Ashenfelter was wounded in the ankle in getting off the field, and was carried to a hut in the wood, where he spent the night. Here he met two young sprigs of the surgical profession. While feigning to be in a doze, he overheard them planning to cut off his foot, on the ground that it would be such a "nice operation" for them. The lieutenant informed them that he must be a party to that affair, and that they could not perform any such operation on him while he could handle his sword. This put a stop to their professional aspirations in that direction.

Company E was on picket on the right of F, between the Nine Mile road and the railroad. A rebel brigade which came down the Nine Mile road got in their rear, and headed them off near the oyster station, as they retired down the railroad, and captured lieutenant Crowell and fifty-three men. They had skirmished with the enemy on the picket line most of the afternoon, and this was well toward sun-down. Captain Harvey and the few men who escaped, reached the rear in safety. The prisoners were taken to Richmond that evening, and confined in Libby prison. The enemy was enabled to get in the rear of the company, because the pickets on its right and left had fallen back. Sergeant Core announced to captain Harvey the situation of things, as he could not see the enemy on account of the bushes and timber. The captain was sitting on an old chair at the time the sergeant approached, and he had hardly arisen from it to accompany him, when a shell exploded by it and threw it several feet in the air. Near sun-down the regiment, about a hundred and fifty strong, arrived at the rifle-pits near the field hospital, and not far from a mile in rear of where the battle began. Its organization had been maintained, but the officers and men were nearly dead with fatigue. Here the flags were again delivered to it by those who had rescued them from the enemy. The battle was now over, and both armies were preparing to make their respective positions safe for the night. At the request of a staff officer, I sent



the 104th to the front to occupy a rifle pit, when I went to the hospital at Savage's station, where I passed a night of pain.

The regiment lost all its camp equipage and baggage, and the officers most of their personal effects. That night the enemy occupied my head quarter cabin, which was filled with their own and our wounded. Among the occupants was general Roger A. Pryor, who treated our wounded with great kindness. A box of nice wines and brandy was found in the cabin, some of which he gave to each wounded soldier; and our well-filled mess-chest supplied them with rations until they were removed from the field the following Monday. All the concurrent testimony proves that the enemy was kind to our wounded which fell into their hands. They carried a number of the men of the 104th to the shade of an old building that stood near the left of the regiment, and supplied them with crackers and water. Corporal Solly, of company "I," says he was carried off the field by order of a rebel colonel, and that the only harsh word he received was from a surgeon. When the regiment went out to fight, the pet coon was left in camp, which the owner secured by running a sergeant's sword through a ring in his chain to the hilt in the ground. It is not known what became of him, as he was never seen afterward. A pet cat survived the day and lived to expire in peace in its master's tent at Gloucester Point. The regiment had drawn a ration of whiskey that morning, which had not been issued. As a cook of one of the companies was thought to be over-fond of the article, a drummer boy was left in camp to watch it. When the bullets began to whistle about his ears, the cook thought it would be safer in the rear, and started in that direction on a double-quick. The drummer boy followed suit, as the whiskey needed no further watching, a bullet having pierced the bucket and let it all run out. In the forenoon, Edward S. Whalen, of company I, and one of the drummer boys were reported for fighting. As punishment, they were both tied to a tree, where they were when the regiment was ordered under arms

to go into battle. They were released and sent to their company. Both went into action, and Whalen was one of the first men killed. Drummer Hunter, company D, shouldered a rifle and went into the ranks, where he served during the day. Captains Corcoran and Walters both used rifles, which they loaded and fired repeatedly. Captain Orem was wounded early in the action, and sat down on the field until the regiment retired, when he was borne off by his men. Mean while, he used the rifle of a dead soldier while sitting on the ground. There was but one officer killed, lieutenant McDowell, company K, who was shot as he was coming off the field. Major Gries, who died a few days after the battle, was much regretted. General Naglee, in his letter to adjutant-general Williams, of the 20th of June, says: "Again should mention be made of the cool daring and gallant manner in which major John M. Gries sustained his regiment when charging into the very face of the enemy. The major died from his wounds, then and there received, and will long be remembered by all who knew him." At the time lieutenant McDowell was killed, he was talking with captain Pickering. He fell upon his face where he was left lying, and was afterward stripped by the enemy. The 104th had ten officers and one hundred and sixty-six enlisted men killed and wounded and sixty-one captured, which make nearly fifty per cent. of the whole number engaged. The wounded were generally sent home to the hospitals for treatment. Fair Oaks was the first of the series of bloody battles in front of Richmond, for its possession. The enemy was completely foiled in his attempt to crush the left wing of our army and pierce our lines.

We left the regiment as it was being conducted to the front by a staff officer to hold a rifle-pit the night of the battle. When it reached its destination, fresh troops were found at hand to perform this duty, and as the 104th was very much fatigued and had suffered severely during the day, it was sent some little way to the rear. It bivouacked in the wood through which major Gries and

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*E. Jaynes McSpowell*  
*2nd Lieut 104<sup>th</sup> I. G.*

companies B and D skirmished on the 24th instant. It is a mile in the rear of the Seven Pines, on the left of the Williamsburg road, and in front of it ran a long rifle-pit. The condition of the men was forlorn in the extreme, and that of the officers was but little better. Scarcely an officer or man had saved a blanket or overcoat, or an article of clothing, except what they had on. They had nothing but tin cups to cook their rations in, and many did not possess one of these. The loss of so many comrades in battle, and the reaction after the great mental and physical excitement of Saturday, tended greatly to depress their minds, and it required considerable of an effort to be cheerful. To these causes may be added the wretched state of the weather. During Sunday a few men, who were supposed to have been killed or wounded, reported for duty, and the regiment recovered its tone to some extent. On Monday morning a detail of two men from each company was called for, to go to the battle-field to identify and bury the dead. The day was hot and sultry. Among the officers who accompanied the party, were captain Pickering, chaplain Gries, and adjutant Hart, who gave interesting accounts of what they saw upon the field. Adjutant Hart, speaking of his visit there, says: "Never can the recollection of that field be effaced from the memory of those who visited it on that day. The weather being extremely hot, with frequent showers, the dead had become bloated and swollen, until their clothes could scarcely contain them; the blood still oozing from gaping wounds; the ground saturated with gore. Flies, in myriads, swarmed around; dead horses, with saddles and harness still on; broken guns; remains of camps, with the food cooked for Saturday's dinner, untouched; the air polluted with stifling odors arising from decomposing bodies; wounded men in the agonies of death—all tended to make the heart sick and the soul shudder at the sight." I visited the late head quarters of the 104th, on the Nine Mile road. Here I found the log house filled with wounded and dead soldiers. Some were our own men. The

wounded had been refreshed from the stock of provisions left by the field and staff. Here the rebel general Pryor had assisted in the amputation of the limb of a member of the 104th. At the door the bloated carcass of a dead horse yet lay, while under our shelter tents were numerous dead rebels. The knapsacks of our men having been left in their tents, were rifled, and their contents strewn around."

Chaplain Gries, in a note to the author, on the same subject, says:—"On Monday, hearing that the rebels had retired in the night, and that our old camp and battle-ground at Fair Oaks was clear, I started to search for the wounded, and to bury the dead. When I reached the regiment, adjutant Hart accompanied me with a fatigue party. We separated at the fork of the Nine Mile and Williamsburg roads, and divided the party. Close by the house of Seven Pines I found States, of company F, lying dead. His brother who was with me, recognized, if he did not see, him first. We buried him as decently as possible, and then began to look for more. Close by we found a rebel still groaning, with the maggots swarming in and out of the wound in his head. In a tent were two dead rebel officers, and outside was a captain of a Michigan regiment, with his name pinned on his breast. In the road were two Union soldiers, regiment unknown, and a number of miscreant shysters loafing under the shelter of an old barn, and looking on coolly whilst wagons were passing over the leg of one of the dead heroes. I dragged the body out of the way of the wagons, and directed a stupefied captain, who was looking on, to put the men to work burying them. At the old log-house we found a sad sight, as well as along the road to it:—dead soldiers, Union and rebel; horses, and broken wagons. In the camp of the 23d Pennsylvania lay the fresh meat which had been issued to them the morning of the battle. In the old house were dead and wounded packed close together, some of the living hardly showing signs of life. We ministered to them, and got them off to the rear. We then struck through the wood

toward the line the regiment occupied in the battle, searching for the wounded, but found none except of other regiments. When we got to the Fair Oaks building, we rested by the wood pile, and in a few minutes a party of our own men who had gone that road with captain Pickering, came up to us, carrying some of our wounded. I procured an ambulance for their relief, when we started for the regiment. The road was lined with dead horses, and in the fields were dead rebels lying in rows like the win-row work of a reaper. The air was loaded with stench, and the sun was almost overpowering. What with this, and the sights we had seen, and the work we had done, we just managed to drag ourselves back to the rifle-pits."

Captain Pickering says:—"The 2d of June the enemy left us in possession of the battle-field. I felt very anxious to learn the fate of lieutenant McDowell and the other missing ones of company K, and I obtained permission to go with the detail to bury the dead. I was accompanied by lieutenant Artman. Arriving upon the ground, we found but few of the detail of our regiment, the most of them having gone back, or were looking after trophies. Quite a number of ambulances were removing the wounded to the station. We found several of the wounded of the regiment, and after seeing them safely put into the ambulances, we commenced a search for the dead. We found the greater number on our first line, and from there to the fence against which we made the charge, and from there to the log-house on our left. Lieutenant McDowell lay about fifty yards from the house. It was impossible to recognize many of the dead, the hot sun and rain had so disfigured their countenances. Many of their faces had swollen up and burst. I happened to find one man of my company near there, and he and I commenced to dig a trench for the company's dead. I sent word to captain Rogers for a new detail, which arrived about noon under lieutenant Kephart, by which time I was ready to bury those belonging to the company. We then buried all the dead of the 104th we could find. The names of those we recognized, were cut on a board and put at



the head of the grave. While thus engaged, we were within a few yards of the picket lines, and there was constant skirmishing with the enemy."

The regiment lay in this wood until Wednesday, the 4th of June, recuperating and re-organizing its shattered ranks. On Monday evening a severe storm came on. So much did the peals of thunder resemble the firing of artillery, that the troops were got under arms and formed in line of battle, on the supposition that the enemy had renewed the attack. After standing in the drenching rain some time, they were dismissed to the friendly shelter of the bushes and trees. The remains of the brigade were collected at this point. It was inspected on Tuesday, when it was found, that of the men who went into action the Saturday before, more than one-third was still missing. Occasionally stragglers came in, and a few of the slightly wounded returned from hospital. The same day the 104th was inspected by colonel Niell, of the 23d Pennsylvania. That night it again rained violently, and the thunder and lightning were terrific. The regiment was turned out in the storm at 3 o'clock, A.M., and remained under arms until daylight. Only those who have tried the life of a soldier, can know how trying to men is this kind of exposure, particularly when they are possessed of none of the comforts and conveniences of a campaign.

## CHAPTER IX.

Division marches to the Chickahominy.—Camp of regiment.—Crosses the river.—Battle of Gaines' Mill.—Naglee and Heintzelman.—Regiment re-crosses the river.—Heavy rain.—Preparation to march to James River.—General movements.—Naglee holds Bottom's Bridge.—Train of ammunition exploded.—Troops withdrawn.—March to White Oak swamp.—The enemy pursues.—Battle.—The army continues the march to the James.—The Rebel Army.

ON the 4th of June, the whole division was ordered down to the Chickahominy, in the neighborhood of Bottom's bridge. It marched in the afternoon. It had rained hard since morning, and seemed to increase toward evening. The roads were fearfully bad, and it was almost impossible for the men to make their way through the deep mud. The streams were swollen into foaming torrents. Half way down the road is crossed by a modest rivulet which, in ordinary times, will not much more than wet the soles of one's shoes. Now, it was waist deep, and ran with the swiftness of a mountain stream. Officers and men waded through. The current took some off their feet, and carried them several yards before they regained them. Here was a squadron of the 8th Pennsylvania cavalry under captain Craven. The horsemen formed a line across the stream on the lower side, to prevent the infantry being washed down. The drummer-boys, too small to wade, were carried across on the horses. The regiment reached its destination

before dark and bivouacked in a piece of timber on Wade's farm overlooking the railroad bridge. The brigade was stretched from here down to Bottom's bridge. The men lay down to sleep without a particle of shelter from the storm that was descending, except such as the bushes and trees afforded. There was neither murmur nor complaint. They exhibited a spirit of fortitude alike creditable to the service and the regiment.

Captain Rogers was in command in the absence of field-officers. The next morning he moved the regiment to a dry ridge near by, in the open fields, and took possession of some farm-buildings to shelter the men. In a day or two it cleared off, warm and pleasant, and things took a more cheerful turn. New camp-equipage was drawn, and the men received a new outfit of clothing. A pleasant camp was laid out, and order and regularity began to assume their wonted sway. Two companies occupied a small redoubt in the vicinity, and every night a few men were placed in the rifle-pits near by. There was no rest for the men, as every one fit for duty was on fatigue daily, rebuilding Bottom's bridge, digging rifle-pits, or throwing up other works to command the crossing of the river. The paymaster made his welcome visit about the 12th, and paid the regiment for two months; the first pay they had received since landing on the Peninsula. The chaplain carried the money home to the families of the men. While here, general Keyes visited the regiment and made a speech to the men. He complimented them on their gallantry at Fair Oaks, and promised to stand by them, and see that full justice was done them. While at Wade's farm, the first complete morning report was made up since the battle. On the 9th of June, the return showed 19 officers and 451 enlisted men present, giving a loss of 12 of the former, and 214 of the latter, in two weeks. This aggregate includes a number of the slightly wounded who had returned to duty. Several absent officers, among whom was lieutenant-colonel Nields, rejoined the regiment, and others went home on sick leave.

Immediately upon the raid on Tunstall's station, the 104th was ordered across the Chickahominy to guard the railroad. It crossed over on the 17th, and encamped in a field of timber near Dispatch station, three hundred yards to the rear. One company was kept constantly on duty guarding the approaches to the station and the railroad in that vicinity. Subsequently, another company was detailed to guard it as low down as Tunstall's. The regiment had a pleasant location, and there was a visible improvement in the health of the men. One cavalryman was on duty at regimental head quarters, to carry dispatches across the river to general Naglee. Lieutenant Yardley was taken violently ill, the last of the month, of fever, and was carried home by some friends who were on a visit to the regiment. He never rejoined again; when sufficiently recovered he was placed on the recruiting service, but was subsequently appointed provost marshal of the 5th district, in which capacity he served during the remainder of the war.

The battle of Gaines' Mill was fought the 27th of June, and was disastrous to our arms. On the afternoon of that day captain Pickering was sent out with his company on picket, on the road that leads toward the battle field, and about a mile from camp. He could hear the rattle of musketry very plainly. About dark the road was filled with stragglers coming from the battle field, who belonged to all the regiments engaged, regulars and volunteers. They came with the usual story of cowards and shysters, that their regiments had been cut to pieces. From the fact that there were no officers with them, and very few wounded, it was evident the greater part of them had run away. A few of them had arms. Some rode artillery and cavalry horses and among them were seen a few horses wearing the trappings of mounted officers. With the assistance of a picket of the 8th Pennsylvania cavalry the captain succeeded in halting the greater part of the fugitives. They appeared much alarmed, and were very anxious to continue to the rear. The next morning they were conducted to Dispatch station. Captain W. W. Marple, who

was in command at the station, sent word to general Naglee that a legion of stragglers had arrived from Gaines' mill, and enquired what should be done with them. He replied, "*Send them to Heintzelman, and tell him they are not Naglee's men this time.*" Lieutenant Carver conducted about 1500 to Savage's station and turned them over to the commanding officer. This message to Heintzelman was in retaliation for the report he made to general McClellan that Casey's division behaved badly at Fair Oaks.

It was evident that we could not hold the left bank of the river long after our repulse at Gaines' mill, and arrangements were made for an early withdrawal from the posts held on that side. There was a large quantity of commissary stores at Dispatch station, which lieutenant colonel Nields loaded on the cars the afternoon and evening of the 27th, and sent up the road to Savage's station, where stores had been collected for the whole army. The regiment left the next morning and crossed at Bottom's bridge, which was destroyed as soon as it was over. It should have crossed the evening before, but the order was delayed. As it was, a few stores, with a small guard, were left in camp until the wagons could return. But before they got back the enemy's cavalry skirmishers made their appearance and drove the guard out of camp. Some of them made a narrow escape, and Matthew Gibney, of company E, was wounded in the hand, slightly. Joseph Pearson, of company K, came very near being captured. He ran into an oats field near by but the rebel cavalrymen discovered his hiding place by the motion he gave the grain, and pursued him. He was fortunate enough to reach the swamp first, where he concealed himself. They kept up the search some time, riding very near him, but finally relinquished it and rode off. A few stores fell into their hands, and also the books and records of company K. All the men reached the regiment during the night, in safety. This was the last communication between the two banks of the river while we held the line of the Chickahominy, and the 104th was the last regiment to re-cross to

the right bank preparatory to the great flank movement to the James.

For a period of nearly two weeks subsequent to the battle of Fair Oaks, the constant rains almost put an end to military operations. The Chickahominy was so risen as to flood the bottom three and four feet in depth; the face of the country was reduced to a bog, and impassable for artillery, except on the main roads. Meanwhile, however, the work on the bridges was pushed forward as rapidly as possible, and by the 25th was so far completed as to afford safe and easy communication between the two wings of the army. On the 18th of June two squadrons of regular cavalry, stationed at Hanover old church, were overpowered by 1500 of the enemy's cavalry, under general Stuart, which afterward passed round the right and rear of our army and re-crossed the Chickahominy at Long's bridge. On the 25th our pickets were advanced preparatory to a general advance of our whole army; but about the same time the enemy commenced a series of movements against our right wing, which changed, entirely, the direction and nature of our operations. Our advance cavalry pickets on the left bank of the river were driven in toward noon on the 26th. The same afternoon the battle of Mechanicsville was fought by general Fitz John Porter. The enemy was repulsed, but our forces retired under cover of the night. McClellan now losing all hope of assistance from McDowell, whose army had been diverted from its legitimate line of march, and sensible of his inability to defeat the enemy's combination against him, single handed, resolved to change his base to the James river by a flank march across the Peninsula. From the moment this resolution was taken every energy was bent toward making the movement a success. The cars were loaded with provisions and ammunition at White House and run to Savage's station to the last moment; and all the wagons were loaded and sent up. The troops that fought at Gaines' mill on the 27th crossed the river that night and destroyed the bridges after them. During the night before, and that morning,

all the wagons were concentrated on the right bank of the river. On the evening of the 27th general McClellan called a meeting of the corps commanders at his own head quarters, when he explained to them the movement he was about to make and the reason of it. On the day and night of the 28th the supply and baggage trains were withdrawn from Savage's station and sent off toward the James. Keyes' corps, with the exception of Naglee's brigade which was held as rear guard, crossed the White Oak swamp bridge and took a position near it, by noon of the same day. The same day and night he was followed by Porter's corps, which was ordered to cover the roads leading from Richmond toward the Swamp and Long bridges. McCall's Pennsylvania Reserves crossed the same night. General head quarters camp at Savage's station was broken up early on the morning of the 29th and moved across the Swamp bridge. General McClellan spent the day examining the country, directing the posting of troops, and making arrangements for the secure passage of the trains to James river.

By noon of the 28th, Naglee had the whole of his brigade concentrated on the right bank of the Chickahominy from Bottom's bridge up to the railroad crossing. At midnight of the day before general McClellan had telegraphed general Keyes to direct general Peck "to guard the railroad and Bottom's bridges." He directed Naglee to "attend to the prompt and exact execution of the above order," instead of sending it to Peck. Naglee was now, as it may be termed, standing at bay between the victorious enemy and the retiring federals. He did not forget his fallen braves of the 31st of May. On Sunday, the 29th, he assembled his brigade on the banks of the now historic Chickahominy, at 11 a. m., as the order expressed it, "for the purpose of uniting in the last sacred duty due by us to the memory of our brave comrades who sacrificed their lives at the battle of the Seven Pines." It was his business to defend the crossing, which he was to hold at every hazard. All the planks had been removed from the railroad bridge and dry fagots



placed conveniently for firing it. Such temporary defensive works as were thought necessary were hastily constructed. An epaulment to protect the pieces, with a line of rifle-pits extending six hundred yards to the left, had been thrown up in the rear of Bottom's bridge. The following was the position of the brigade at that time. Eight companies of the 104th were stationed near the old tavern, in reserve, as a support to Morgan's battery, and two companies, C and I, in a rifle-pit covering the bridge; the 11th Maine was at the railroad bridge; the sharpshooters of the 52d Pennsylvania and the 11th lined the bank of the river between the two bridges; while the 56th and 100th New York occupied the redoubts and rifle-pits. Naglee had with him Miller's, Brady's, and Morgan's batteries and a squadron of cavalry. General Casey had been down to White House to control matters there, and general Peck was placed in command of the division.

Immediately upon the battle of Gaines' Mill, the enemy in large force moved down toward the railroad, and on the 28th appeared in front of Bottom's bridge. They planted a battery within a thousand yards of the bridge and opened upon us, the infantry manœuvring at the same time as if about to attempt a crossing. A well directed and concentrated fire from our three batteries silenced his guns and compelled the infantry to withdraw into the timber. He had felt our pickets along the river bank before this and learned to respect the sharpshooters that stood waist deep in water. On the 29th, large bodies of the enemy were seen hovering about on the high ground in front of the bridge, but our preparations to receive him and the accuracy of our fire prevented him making a serious attempt to cross. The battle at Savage's station was fought on the 29th and lasted until dark. The enemy had repaired the upper bridges soon after our troops had crossed over and destroyed them, and now gave us battle on the right bank. The battle at Allen's farm was fought the same day but commenced and ended at an earlier hour. In both actions the enemy was repulsed, but our army was

not then in a condition to take advantage of a success. As soon as darkness covered their movements the troops that fought these battles took up the line of march for the James; Sumner and Heintzelman crossing the swamp at Brackett's ford, and Franklin at the White Oak bridge.

Meanwhile Naglee stood on the defensive and interposed between a victorious enemy and the retiring trains and troops. The road that leads to the swamp crossing was not much over a mile from the river bank. The railroad bridge had already been destroyed by the men of the 11th Maine. At Savage's station a train of cars was being loaded with ammunition, to be run down the river at the last moment. This was done at 7 o'clock, p. m., on the afternoon of the 29th. Slow matches were applied so that the train would be exploded as it fell into the river. The signal to run the ill-fated cars down the road was given just before sundown. It was started with a full head of steam, and no hand to guide it down a descending grade. The foremost cars were all aflame. Rushing along with accelerated speed, the whole train plunged through the break in the bridge into the river below, with an explosion that shook the earth and filled the air with pieces of the wreck. The rear cars were filled with tons of powder, in barrels, and an immense quantity of fixed ammunition and loaded shells for the siege guns. For hours, the explosion of shells from this tremendous battery was incessant. The explosion of the train threw up a magnificent column of white smoke hundreds of feet into the air. The sound drowned the noise of artillery and musketry, which sinks into insignificance in comparison. At dark the general silently withdrew his regiments to the high ground overlooking the river, leaving but a fringe of pickets along the stream. The 104th had already retired into a wood two hundred yards to the rear with instructions to wait until the other regiments should close up. It was some time after dark, but not until the last wagon, and the last regiment had passed, that the pickets were called in, and the brigade

put in march for the James river. It was now the rear-guard of the Army of the Potomac.

The road was crowded with wagons, and the march necessarily slow. The brigade crossed the White Oak swamp some time after midnight and bivouacked on the rising ground, a few hundred yards in front of, and commanding, the crossing. On the right, skirmishing could be distinctly heard between the rear guard of our retiring columns on the road from Richmond to Charles city and the advanced guard of the enemy. It was continued to a late hour. Keyes, who was the first to cross the swamp, was relieved on the 28th, and with his baggage and artillery marched for Turkey bend, where he arrived on the morning of the 30th. General Franklin had relieved him, and was ordered to hold White Oak swamp crossing with his own corps and Richardson's and Naglee's brigades. As soon as the trains and artillery were over, details of men were sent out to destroy the bridge. When morning dawned, a large force was found to be in the immediate vicinity, and an immense number of wagon and several pontoon trains encumbered the fields and roads. The pickets were skirmishing in the swamp across the creek that runs through it. A great effort was made to get the wagons out of the way, and as rapidly as possible, train after train was pushed into the road and started off for James river. At 10 o'clock, a. m., the brigade was got under arms, and attached to Smith's division. It was placed in position by general Naglee, about half a mile from the crossing, and was the last of several lines. It was formed on two sides of the open field, along the edge of the wood, the right resting on the James river road, and facing the enemy, or where he was supposed to be, the left parallel to and fronting the road. A portion of the 52d was deployed into the swamp. Included between the angle formed by the two lines, were acres of wagons, pontoons, &c. Everything being in readiness for action, the men were allowed to stack arms and withdraw to the

shade of the neighboring timber. Here they kindled fires and cooked dinner. The scene resembled a great pic-nic.

The enemy pushed after us immediately from the Chickahominy, and were close in our rear. Our engineers had hardly destroyed the swamp bridge and retired, before his skirmishers came up to reconnoitre. For several hours the swamp only divided the opposing forces. The action began about noon. Without a note of warning, the enemy suddenly ran his artillery forward from behind the opposite hills and opened several batteries on our army while the men were lounging on the grass eating their dinner. The shock was so sudden that everybody seemed stunned for a moment. One division broke for the wood—the officers leaving their horses tied to the trees in the open field—but was rallied again. The teamsters, especially those of the pontoon trains, cut the traces, and away went the mules, by fours and sixes. When the trains got started, the teamsters were threatened with instant death if they drove faster than a walk, and guards were placed at short intervals along the road to prevent a stampede. A New York regiment broke and was leaving the field, when it was charged with the bayonet by another regiment and stopped. For a few moments there was a scene of great confusion. Our guns had been placed in battery early in the day. The gunners stood ready, and soon they thundered at the enemy in reply. The distance was hardly a mile, and they had our exact range. Their shells burst constantly over and among our troops. The air seemed filled with their projectiles. The official report of the action states that the guns on both sides did not number less than a hundred. It was one of the most furious cannonades of the war, and continued through the day. The infantry was obliged to endure this severe shelling that hot afternoon without an opportunity to reply, an ordeal more trying than any other to a soldier. Naglee's brigade, occupying the last line, had few casualties. The 104th had none killed or wounded, but many narrow escapes. Dead and wounded were car-

ried to the rear every few moments—the former were buried near by, while the latter were taken to a neighboring house which had been converted into a hospital. Some of the batteries had to fill their ammunition chest three times, so rapid was the firing. The men serving the batteries were almost worn out, and one faithful gunner stood to his piece until he was entirely deaf. The enemy made repeated efforts to cross the swamp while this cannonading was going on, but in each case was prevented. The suddenness of the attack created considerable confusion among the trains, and there was danger of a general stampede. An Irish camp woman, belonging to a New York regiment, made herself quite conspicuous during the action. She remained close to the side of her husband, and refused to retire to a place of security. She was full of pluck. Occasionally she would notice some fellow sneaking to the rear, when she would run after him, seize him by the nape of his neck and place him in the ranks again, calling him a “dirty, cowardly spalpeen,” and other choice epithets. The flying shells had no terrors for her. During the hottest of the cannonade, this courageous woman walked fearlessly about among the troops, encouraging them to stand up to their work. Her only weapon, offensive or defensive, was a large umbrella she carried under her arm. In one instance she shamed a commissioned officer into returning to his duty. She belonged to the Irish brigade, and her stout person, full, red face and broad language betrayed her undoubted origin. About the middle of the afternoon, heavy firing was heard on the left where the troops of Sumner and McCall were fighting the enemy at Glendale. He had succeeded in crossing the swamp higher up, and was making an effort to fall upon our rear. This firing, so close on our left, caused considerable alarm, for should the enemy succeed in his attack, it would enable him to cut off our retreat. A brigade was sent off to re-enforce our troops. Naglee became so much interested in the progress of events in that quarter towards evening, that he rode in that direction to endeavor

to obtain information. In a short time he returned at a gallop, shouting, as he came up, "*All's right; we've repulsed them.*"

The cannonade ceased soon after dark with the exception of two of our guns which continued to fire, at intervals of ten or fifteen minutes, until after midnight. A pontoon train and several caissons that could not be hauled away were burned to prevent them falling into the hands of the enemy. Franklin gradually and silently withdrew his troops in the early part of the evening, leaving only Naglee's brigade and the two field pieces to watch the crossing of the swamp. Again his little command became the rear-guard and interposed between our retiring columns and the pursuing enemy. He was ordered to follow at 10 o'clock. At that hour he took up the line of march, with his whole brigade, as he supposed, but he took with him only part of it, viz: the 11th, 52d and a portion of the 100th regiments, leaving the 56th, remainder of the 100th and the 104th on the field. He gave the command at the head of the column, in a low tone of voice, and the order was not repeated throughout the line. Some who saw him move off were not aware that it was a general movement, but supposed him to be taking part of the brigade into the swamp to put it on picket. His assistant-adjutant-general, who did not notice the movement, was left behind. The general did not discover that part of his brigade was missing until he had marched several miles and it was then too late to remedy the mistake, for the road was blocked up with troops and teams, and to return was impossible. Colonel Van Wyck was now the senior officer present and should have assumed command, but declined to do so. Captain Johnston, the assistant adjutant-general, was then appealed to to conduct the remainder of the brigade off the field and follow the march of the army, but he declined to move without an order from the general, who was not present to give it. Thus, through sheer incompetency, two regiments and a half and two guns came near falling into the hands of the enemy.

Immediately the fight commenced at White Oak swamp bridge,



surgeon Kittinger of the 100th New York established a hospital in a dwelling on the New Market road about half way to Brackett's ford. Two hundred wounded were received there for treatment, a part of which was brought down from Glendale. The wounds were generally very severe. During the afternoon and evening four hundred able-bodied men collected around his hospital and spent the night there. With great difficulty the doctor prevailed upon one hundred and fifty of them to leave at sunrise the next morning for James river; but the remainder positively refused to march any further, and remained and gave themselves up to the enemy.— Among them were two commissioned officers. It was a shameful exhibition of cowardice and demoralization on the part of troops. The rebel skirmishers made their appearance at 7 o'clock in the morning and two hours afterward the main body, under Stonewall Jackson, came along. They marched by the flank, closed up, and were five hours passing the hospital. Such was the discipline maintained that the men were not even allowed to leave ranks to get a drink of water at the well. The doctor remained with the wounded and was made prisoner. The enemy offered no assistance to the wounded until the 4th of July, nor did he send food to the hospital until the 5th, when some bacon, a little flour, and hard bread were received. On the 11th they were removed to Richmond. When Stonewall Jackson arrived at the hospital he expressed astonishment to see so few stragglers and asked the doctor what had become of them. He did not know that they reached the James in advance of the army. With a victorious enemy thundering at our heels the rear was no place for them. Jackson was in plain clothes, with a sword and sash as the only signs of rank about him. He led his men on foot.



## CHAPTER X.

Situation at White Oak swamp.—Lieutenant McCoy.—The rear guard marches.—Lose their way.—The “Mule charge.”—Malvern Hill.—The battle.—Fatigue of the army.—101th goes to Haxall’s.—March to Harrison’s Landing.—The rear guard.—The roads.—The enemy still pursues.—Wagons abandoned.—Harrison’s Landing.—Intrenched camp there.—Rejoin the regiment.—Night attack by the enemy.—The army to be withdrawn from the Peninsula.—McClellan’s campaign.

THOSE who were with the rear guard that night at the White Oak swamp crossing will long remember it. The situation was extremely critical for that portion of Naglee’s brigade left behind. There was not a sentinel between the two armies to announce the approach of the enemy. Our two guns threw an occasional shell to give notice that we still occupied the ground. He was already busily at work rebuilding the bridge to cross over. The distant sound of the drum of his infantry, and the rattle of his gun carriages could be heard as the enemy came up on the opposite side of the swamp. He appeared to be massing his forces for a desperate assault at daylight, under the supposition that our army would again dispute his advance at that point. Captain Johnston still maintained the fiction that general Naglee was in the swamp, and believing such to be the case would not consent that the troops should be removed. At last he was convinced of the danger of delay, and agreed to send a man into the swamp to hunt for him. Sergeant Laughlin was sent, but returned in a little while and re-

ported that he could not be found. Lieutenant McCoy then volunteered to make a search. He rode into the swamp some distance, and down to the creek, calling in a loud tone of voice for the pickets and the general. There was no answer returned. Every thing was silent through the swamp but the axemen of the enemy felling trees to repair the crossing. When at the creek he could not have been more than two or three hundred yards from the enemy's pickets. No doubt this bold act of Mr. McCoy deceived him as to our position and strength. Although the result of this reconnoissance was positive evidence that neither the general nor the missing regiments were in the swamp, no one was disposed to order the troops to move off. It is hard to tell how long they might have remained in this critical position had not a staff officer of general Franklin at this time come upon the ground. He expressed great surprise at finding troops still there, and said that the general supposed they had left four hours before, and that other troops had been withdrawn on that supposition.

It was now 2 o'clock on the morning of the 1st of July. Colonel Van Wyck finally assumed command and the march was commenced. He did not know what road to take. Those whose business it was to know the route taken by the retreating army, had remained on the ground all day without informing themselves. The head of the column was directed toward the right, contrary to the conviction of the most intelligent officers present, and the troops took the direct route for the enemy. After marching some distance they passed the pickets of another portion of our army, and were again outside the federal lines. The road was filled with stragglers coming from the field of Glendale or Nelson's farm. They were much demoralized, and many had thrown away their arms. Lieutenant McCoy was ordered to collect them together, but he could do nothing with them. Continuing the march, in a little while colonel Van Wyck came to where the road again forked. Here another body of stragglers was met, who came down the right hand road.

A halt was ordered. In a few minutes colonel Ward approached with the rear guard from Glendale, and of course was much astonished to see troops marching toward the enemy, who he said was in pursuit of him. The column was now countermarched and followed colonel Ward down the Charles City road.

During this march there occurred what is known to the members of the brigade as the "mule charge," which, for a short time, caused an unaccountable panic among the troops. While standing in the road, half asleep, they were startled by a noise like that which accompanies charging cavalry and artillery. At the same time there was seen a flash, and then an explosion was heard when some one raised the cry that the enemy's cavalry was coming. In a moment the road was cleared of troops, who rushed into the adjoining wood for safety. Those who were present describe the scene as a fearfully exciting one while it continued. For an instant of time the whole command seemed paralyzed and bereft of reason. In the rush from imaginary danger officers and men tumbled over each other. Some lost their caps and articles of clothing; while others, when the fright had subsided, found themselves in possession of articles that belonged to their neighbors, without being able to tell how they came by them. Many threw away their guns without knowing it. The panic was complete while it lasted. The innocent cause of it was soon discovered. A couple of mules which had escaped from the teamsters, with the harness on, came running down the road with the chains and straps rattling and flapping about them. About the same time a soldier discharged his musket. The troops were simply the victims of a delusion, which their physical and mental condition in some measure invited, for they were greatly prostrated in body and mind. When they heard the voices they were accustomed to hear, calling upon them to "fall in," they obeyed with alacrity, and immediately the ranks were re-formed. The panic subsided almost as soon as it arose.

The reader must not take this as evidence of the want of disci-

pline and steadiness in these troops, for they were among the best regiments in the army of the Potomac. There are occasions when the best troops in the world are liable to panic and stampede. A notable and singular instance of this is recorded in Napier's "History of the Peninsula War." The night before the battle of Busaco, a brigade of English soldiers suddenly sprang from their sleep, around the bivouac fires, and without any perceivable cause, ran panic-stricken and bewildered in every direction. Yet even in their fright they retained the instinct of veterans, for when the cry arose that the enemy's cavalry were on them, they immediately began to form in knots and groups to defend themselves; when their delusion vanished. The cause of this panic was never discovered; while that of Naglee's brigade was palpable.

The regiments being reformed filed to the left and resumed the march to the rear at as rapid a gait as the men could make. Part of the time, they moved in a slow trot—as near a "double-quick" as their fatigued bodies would permit.—The column was overtaken by a mounted officer, who advised them to "hurry up," as the enemy was not far off, and was expected to make an attack when daylight appeared.—Scarcely a word was spoken, except now and then a whispered command to the men, to "close up."—The road was still filled with stragglers, through which our men had to force their way—and it was often with much difficulty our wearied fellows could be prevented mingling with the throng of fugitives going the same way. Several of the officers and men were really too sick to march, and all their physical strength was taxed to keep up with the command. But the law of necessity compelled them to it, for to fall behind was to ensure almost certain capture. Consequently there was no straggling among Naglee's men. The command reached the field of Malvern early in the forenoon, where they stacked arms and lay down to rest, as they had marched fifteen miles since leaving White Oak swamp. The enemy was not far behind, for within an hour the fire of his ad-

vance could be heard as he drove in our pickets. The great bulk of the army of the Potomac was concentrating here to make another stand, and the field presented a grand sight that clear morning, as the thousands of infantry were moved to and fro to take up their ground, and the batteries galloped to their assigned positions.

As the army approached James river, Malvern hill was seen to be the key to our position in that region, and it was determined to make another stand here against the enemy. A reconnoissance of the surrounding country had been made before the troops arrived, and general McClellan had given instructions as to their posting. The rear of the supply-trains, and the reserve-artillery reached there late in the afternoon of the 30th of June. The troops took up their position as they arrived. The left and centre rested on the Malvern, while the right curved backward toward James river. Keyes' corps, in which was the 104th, belonged to this wing of the army, and acted as a reserve. The regiment lay in a wood, in such position that the shells from the gun-boat Galena passed directly over its head into the ranks of the enemy. The battle began between 9 and 10 o'clock, and continued, with intervals of cessation, until after nightfall, but the heaviest fighting took place late in the afternoon. The enemy made the most persistent efforts to carry our position; charging up to the very muzzles of the guns, and often not receiving a check until the infantry poured volley after volley into him. Forming under cover of the wood, he charged upon our batteries at a run across the open space and up the slopes, determined to carry them. In each instance his columns of attack were hurled back. The firing did not cease until about 9 o'clock at night, but the fate of the day had been decided an hour before. The result of the battle was a victory to us; but it seemed necessary to fall back further, in order to establish a depot where the supplies could be brought up with safety. A few thousand fresh troops could have

enabled us to open the way to Richmond. The constant fighting, and marching, and exposure for the last seven days, had completely fagged out the army, and greatly demoralized it. Thousands of men could not be held to their organizations, but straggled to the river in crowds, and more than one officer deserted his command, and marched in advance of their men to the river. Marching by night, and fighting by day for a week, will use up the best army in the world, and none ever excelled the army of the Potomac in its historic period in 1862. In the evening, the 104th and 100th N. Y. were marched down to Haxall's, a mile further, where they rejoined the remainder of the brigade under general Naglee, who was much rejoiced to see his lost troops. That night they bivouacked by the side of a creek in the immediate vicinity of some houses. A load of rations was procured, and, for the first time in three days, the men had a comfortable meal. At evening, companies A, D, and H, under lieutenants Fretz, Lehnen, Artman and Markley were detailed to report to the officer of the day for picket duty; and soon afterward the rest of the regiment under captain Rogers was likewise sent out. He returned to Haxall's at daylight with the seven companies, but the other three were withdrawn too late to march with the regiment, and fell in with the 87th New York. They did not report again to the 104th until after their arrival at Harrison's landing.

When general McClellan determined to withdraw from Malvern hill, and continue his march to Harrison's landing, he selected Keyes' corps to cover the movement, and the brigades of Wessel and Naglee were detailed for the rear-guard. After marching about three miles below Haxall's, these brigades were formed in line of battle, supported by artillery, where they remained while the disordered army poured down in a living stream toward the river. The moment the retreat was resumed, organization, in a great measure, appeared to be at an end, and the troops swept over the country without regard to roads or order. They made short cuts across



fields and through wood to the place of destination, and the incessant discharge of muskets and rifles resembled a fusilade with the enemy. There was a mingling of companies, regiments, brigades and divisions. It began to rain in the morning, and continued for several hours to pour down in torrents, at which time the rear-guard stood in line, or manœuvred to protect the retreat. The movement of so many thousand men and wagons over the roads and neighboring fields, after the rain had fallen, converted them into an almost impassable quagmire, and to march was literally to wade through the mud. The troops and wagons having all passed by the middle of the afternoon, the rear-guard followed, destroying the bridges behind them. After marching a few miles they were halted for the night, officers and men being fagged out with fatigue, wet to the skin, and covered with mud. The bivouacs of the 104th was near a wheat-field, and the men set to work gathering the sheaves for bedding. The rain held up in the afternoon, but it commenced again near sun-down. The men had hardly lain down when a detail came for part of them to go on picket, an order which appeared harsh in the extreme after all the fatigue they had undergone the last three days. About this time some fresh troops, which had landed that morning at Harrison's bar, came to the front and were sent out on picket instead of the tired men of the 104th. Nevertheless, the latter were not permitted to pass the night on their sheaves of wheat, with whatever degree of comfort they could command. Their location was changed two or three times before midnight, and at last they found themselves amidst bushes and coarse grass, the ground cut up in holes filled with water. Here they sank to rest more dead than alive.

The enemy pursued as rapidly as the nature of the roads would permit. In the night he placed a battery in position, and shelled our bivouacks. Several shells fell among the 104th, but fortunately no one was hurt. The regiment was aroused and got under arms, but no further attack was made. The battery and its sup-



ports were afterward captured by the rear-guard. In the morning the 104th was sent to re-enforce general Wessel, to whose brigade it was temporarily attached. The last of the troops, except the rear-guard and the trains, arrived at Harrison's landing after dark on the evening of the 3d of July. The condition of the roads the last two days, was such that the trains were got through with much difficulty. Many wagons were abandoned and destroyed, and a number were unloaded to enable the mules to draw them empty. The last day's march lieutenant McCoy was directed by an engineer officer to station himself on the main road, and cause all wagons to be unloaded that could not get through without it. Every kind of baggage was thrown into the mud. Officers' trunks were broken open and rifled of their contents by soldiers who were too much fatigued to carry their knapsacks, but who could bear a few pounds of plunder. Cases of expensive surgical instruments were cast away, to be picked up by the first party that claimed them. At one point where the mud was too deep for the men to cross the road, a crossing was made of mattresses taken from a hospital wagon. In this manner thousands of dollars' worth of valuable and useful baggage was destroyed. The 104th, in these memorable movements, performed a highly meritorious service. It formed part of the rear-guard from the Chickahominy to the James, a duty as arduous and dangerous as honorable, and is so held by all military authorities. Dufour says:—"In retreat the rear-guard becomes the most important body, and should be composed of the best troops, or those which have suffered least. No other service can give more fame to a body of troops, where it exposes itself to danger, privation and toil, less for itself than for the remainder of the army."

The 104th was probably as well kept together as any other regiment in the army, and yet did not reach Harrison's landing with more than half the men in ranks. It was fortunate in meeting with so few losses. The morning it fell back across the Chickahominy, William Hart, of company F, was taken to the hospital at Savage's station,

and as he was never heard of afterwards he probably died in the hands of the enemy. Orderly sergeant Cadwallader, of company K, was taken there sick about the same time, and would have fallen into the hands of the enemy, but for the kindness of lieutenant Yardley, quartermaster of the 3d Pennsylvania Reserves, who carried him away in an ambulance. Sergeant Haney, of company B, was made prisoner at Malvern hill. He had fallen behind the regiment and laid down to rest, and while asleep the army passed him. When he awoke and was on the point of following our troops, a rebel soldier stepped up and secured him. In the loss of public property it fared better than most other regiments. Some lost every thing—the 104th very little. One drum of the corps of twenty, only, reached the James, and that not in a very serviceable condition. It was carried by drummer Straube, of company A, a boy of fourteen years. He rode in the sutler's wagon part of the way, which, no doubt, helped him to save the drum. He found a better drum than his own on the field at White Oak swamp and made an exchange. Two drums had survived the battle of Fair Oaks, the one of Straube, already mentioned, and another carried by little Smally of company F, which was broken up on the Chickahominy when the retreat began. The men lost some of their personal effects. The first morning report after the army reached Harrison's landing was rendered the 8th of July, which gave 20 commissioned officers, and 433 men present, showing a falling off since last report of 43 enlisted men. These were mainly stragglers, most of whom came into camp in a few days.

Harrison's landing, or bar, is about twenty-five miles below Richmond, and within easy communication with Fortress Monroe. Berkeley, the seat of the Harrison family, and the birth-place of the late President of that name, was within the lines of our army. The army occupied a line of heights about two miles from the river with a length of front of nearly three miles. The intermediate space was mostly a level plain. The engineers were immediately

set to work laying out defensive works, and for three weeks the whole force was employed constructing redoubts, intrenchments and rifle-pits. The men were not permitted to rest until the position was rendered entirely secure. The army of the Potomac then occupied a strongly intrenched camp with the two flanks resting on the river. The position assigned Naglee's brigade was on the left extending part of the way from the front line down to the river. It occupied a piece of timber well grown up in bushes, on a bluff overlooking a deep and swampy ravine. It held that portion of the intrenched camp that was most advanced toward Richmond. A breastwork was constructed of logs three feet high along the brink of the ravine, extending the whole front of the camp, and uniting with the defences on the right and left. The camps were pitched in the timber, all the brush having been cleared away. That of the 104th was laid out with regularity, and the location was pleasant.

I rejoined the regiment on the evening of the 31st of July, although not entirely recovered of my wound. I found Captain Rogers in command. The regiment looked much better than I had a right to expect after the hardships it had lately passed through. The camp was clean and well-regulated, the men neat and orderly, and the usual discipline was fast being restored. Lieutenant-colonel Neilds had resigned and gone home a few days before my arrival, on account of disability from a sun stroke during the campaign. Surgeon Peek had also resigned. His vacancy was filled by the promotion of assistant surgeon Robinson. Congress had lately added one assistant surgeon to each regiment, and these two positions now vacant in the 104th were filled by the appointment of Dr. W. Scott Hendrie of Doylestown and Dr. Willis Cadwallader of Pineville. They accompanied me to Harrison's landing and immediately entered upon the discharge of their duties. As I passed through the company streets the next morning, and looked along the line at dress parade that evening, I missed a number of

familiar faces. Some lay under the sod around Fair Oaks and Seven Pines, and other places on the Peninsula, while others were in hospital, maimed for life, or sick.

While the army lay at Harrison's landing but little transpired of any interest. After the position had been rendered secure, attention was turned toward a restoration of the organization and discipline of the army. A rigid system of drills was instituted, and maintained with as much frequency as the weather would permit. Part of the time the heat was so oppressive that the men fainted in the ranks. The country round about was well picketed, and in the direction of Richmond our lines extended nearly to Malvern hill. The enemy now and then showed himself in our vicinity, but the demonstrations were not of a serious character. There was quite an alarm in camp the night of the 31st of July. The enemy brought a battery or two down to the opposite bank of the river, and opened upon our camps and shipping about midnight. Our gunboats replied, and his guns were soon silenced. We lost a few men killed and wounded. Three days afterward a considerable body of troops was thrown across the river, and some defensive works erected, to cover a landing in force, should it be deemed necessary. The few buildings the enemy made use of were burned. On the 4th of August, general Hooker was sent out with his division to make a demonstration to Malvern hill. He succeeded in flanking the enemy's position and compelled him to fall back. The hill was occupied by our troops, which was considered an important point gained in case a forward move on the rebel capital should be made from our present position. The band of the 104th was mustered out here, under an act of Congress, which provided that all regimental bands, enlisted as such, should be discharged. This was done on the plea of retrenchment. As a measure of economy it was contemptible, while the substance of the government was daily wasting away at so many leak holes. It seemed like grudging the soldiers the pleasure of music. The President visited the

army on the 4th of July and reviewed it, but the men were in a sorry condition to receive their Commander-in-Chief.

As early as the 12th of July, there was an intimation that the army would be withdrawn from the Peninsula. General McClellan was opposed to it, and protested against it. He was anxious to remain and complete the campaign begun. He maintained that to be the road to Richmond where lay the heart of the rebellion, and urged the government to send him re-enforcements to accomplish the desired object. He asked for twenty thousand additional troops, which he thought were all that would be required. His general plan was to move on the rebel capital in three columns, of thirty-five thousand each. Soon after the army had reached Harrison's landing, Burnside was ordered from North Carolina with seven thousand men, who were landed at Newport News. Soon afterward a division came up from the department of the South, which increased his force to eleven thousand. They were intended to be sent up to McClellan, but they never reached him. Meanwhile, general Halleck visited the army of the Potomac and had a conference with the leading general officers. He was accompanied to Washington by Burnside, to get instructions to take the re-enforcements to Harrison's landing, as it was then understood. While he was at the capital, it was decided to withdraw the army from the Peninsula.

No campaign during the war caused more or severer criticism than the one of which I am writing. That it was unsuccessful, I do not think was the fault of the army or its commander. Since it was concluded, and many things have come to light which then were not only unknown but not suspected, we can see errors committed on our side. These things were undeveloped while the operations were pending, and the movements had to be governed by the then existing circumstances. I believe general McClellan acted according to his best judgment, however much that may have led him into error; and it is doubtful whether any other com-

mander of that period, and surrounded by the same circumstances, would have done better. Many might have done worse. He saved the army, which others might have lost. Many things worked against him, the blame of which is not his, though charged to his account. He undertook the campaign with the distinct understanding that McDowell's column, moving down from Fredericksburg, was to strike the enemy in flank, which would have given us immense superiority in numbers and position. Had this plan been carried out, Richmond would have been ours by the 1st day of June. Jackson was sent to make a demonstration up the valley, in order to draw off McDowell, and he succeeded. This disarranged the plans of the campaign, and compelled almost an entire change of movement, always difficult in a large, and particularly new, army in the presence of a powerful and watchful enemy. The rains and mud of the last days of May and beginning of June, were worth thousands of men to the enemy, as they compelled our army to rest astride the Chickahominy, unable to move either way. It gave him time to concentrate, while we were compelled to remain stationary, and let our men sicken in the swamps. Great fault is found because our army did not march into Richmond immediately after the battle of Malvern hill. That was undoubtedly a defeat to the enemy. We stood on the defensive, and their attack met a bloody repulse. The feeling of common danger had much to do with the manner in which our troops fought on that occasion. They could not have accomplished so much had they been the attacking party. After this battle our army was very greatly demoralized, and in many respects in not much better condition than the enemy. After marching seven nights and fighting seven days, it was not in a condition to change its movement and become the assailant.

The flank movement to the James, always a dangerous one, and not often performed, was a success. Whether it was justified under



the circumstances will be determined by impartial history, into whose realms all the movements of the war have passed.

While we lay at Harrison's landing the following promotions were made, viz: Adjutant Hart to be lieutenant-colonel, vice Nields, resigned; captain Rogers to be major, vice Gries, died of wounds received in action; orderly-sergeant Cadwallader to be second lieutenant, vice McDowell, killed in action; orderly-sergeant O'Neill to be second lieutenant, vice Beans, resigned; orderly-sergeant Fretz to be second lieutenant, vice Holmes, appointed commissary of subsistence. About the same time private Marcus Holback was appointed commissary sergeant, in place of James M. Rogers, discharged.



## CHAPTER XI.

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Army ordered to withdraw from Peninsula.—March of army.—Bivouac at Charles City court house.—Cross the Chickahominy.—Reach Williamsburg.—Arrive at Yorktown.—Army embarks for Alexandria.—104th sent to Gloucester Point.—The fort.—A reconnoissance.—Ride to Eagle Point.—Dinner.—Return to Gloucester.—Mrs. Dobson.—Cattle captured.—Prisoners of war returned.—Health of regiment.—Experience of the prisoners.—Promotions.

ON the 4th of August, general McClellan received a telegram from general Halleck, directing him to withdraw the army to Aquia Creek, leaving the execution of the order entirely to his judgment and discretion. He was directed to cover the movement from the enemy the best way he could, and to conceal the real object from his own officers and men. Preparations for the withdrawal were begun immediately. The sick and heavy material of the army were sent off by water as rapidly as they could be shipped. Meanwhile, reconnoissances were pushed in several directions, to lead the enemy to believe that a forward movement was contemplated. To enable the army to move in light marching order, the knapsacks were placed on divers water craft to be towed round by water. Those of Naglee's brigade were put on board a canal boat, which sank before it had an opportunity to leave Harrison's landing. The knapsacks were fished up, and in their wet state put on board another boat, and towed round to Yorktown. By this time they and their contents were ruined, and were condemned by a board of sur-

vey. Many officers lost all their baggage. It was the second time the men were stripped of every thing but what they stood in, in four months. Congress had clothed the quartermaster-general with power to replace the clothing of enlisted men lost under such circumstances; but notwithstanding frequent application was made, and all the rules of the department complied with, nothing was recovered.

The order for the army to move was issued on the 11th, but countermanded until the 14th. The corps of Porter and Heintzelman marched on the 14th, and Keyes on the 15th. The wagons were sent off the afternoon before. A few intrenching tools and other articles of little value were destroyed. The men of the 104th made several stuffed paddys, which they placed on the breastwork, with clubs in their arms, to watch over the destinies of the deserted camp. One of these dummies was fastened on the back of an old mule that was left running in the woods. We marched at 4 o'clock in the morning, and united with other divisions of the corps beyond the intrenchments. We bivouacked at sun-down near Charles City court house, Naglee's brigade in a corn-field, with the ears fit for roasting. By morning there was a slim crop for the owner. The road was blocked up with trains. We resumed the march at daylight in the morning. In a few miles we intersected a heavy column that had taken the river road, and we were obliged to wait a long time to enable it to pass. We reached the Chickahominy near its mouth, at Barrett's ferry, about noon, and crossed on a pontoon bridge twenty-two hundred feet long. The long column of infantry, with mingled batteries and wagons sweeping down to, and across the bridge, was a fine military spectacle. Just below lay two gunboats to protect and cover the removal of the bridge. On the north bank there were acres of wagons in park, hitching up and moving off. One wing of the army crossed higher up the stream at Jones' ford. The whole army, with the trains, artillery, &c., were safely

over on the 17th, except the rear-guard, which crossed the next morning, when the bridge was taken up.

The night of the 17th our division lay within four miles of Williamsburg, and the next afternoon bivouacked six miles this side. We remained here the 19th to enable the troops to be mustered and inspected under a recent order from the war department. The 104th spent the twenty-four hours on picket near the York river, and rejoined the division on the morning of the 20th in time to resume the march. We reached Yorktown before noon, and encamped near Wormley's creek, three miles below the town. The movement, for so large a body of troops, was well arranged. The army had withdrawn from the presence of the enemy without let or hinderance, and no doubt without his understanding the movement until it was too late to interfere with it. The trains when drawn out extended forty miles. The columns were directed on the three points of Yorktown, Fortress Monroe and Newport News, where transports were waiting to convey the troops to Alexandria, their place of destination. The embarkation commenced as soon as the troops arrived, and by the 23d the whole of the army of the Potomac had sailed, except Sumner's corps and Peck's division of Keyes' corps. The former followed in a few days, while the latter remained on the Peninsula.

On the 18th of August general McClellan telegraphed general Halleck in the following terms, urging him to say something complimentary to the achievements of the army on the Peninsula, viz:—

“Please say a kind word to my army that I can repeat to them in general orders, in regard to their conduct at Yorktown, Williamsburg, West Point, Hanover court-house, and on the Chickahominy, as well as in regard to the seven days and the recent retreat.

“No one has ever said any thing to cheer them but myself. Say nothing about me. Merely give my officers and men credit for

what they have done. It will do you much good, and will strengthen you much with them if you issue a handsome order to them in regard to what they have accomplished. They deserve it."

As no reply was made to this, nor order issued in compliance with the request, it is probable the General-in-Chief was opposed to complimenting the army of the Potomac for its achievements on the Peninsula.

On the 23d general McClellan and staff embarked for Alexandria, and arrived there on the 24th, to find himself not only without an army but without a command.

As already mentioned, Peck's division remained on the Peninsula, the rest of the 4th corps accompanying the Army of the Potomac. Two brigades of the division were shortly sent down to Suffolk, while that of Naglee, now under command of brigadier-general Emory, remained about Yorktown. The headquarters of the 4th corps was established at this place. During the operations in Maryland and Virginia against Lee's army, general McClellan twice requested the secretary of war to re-enforce him with Peck's division, but it was refused.

General McClellan ordered a force sent over to Gloucester point to hold that place, which would give us the control of the Peninsula between the York and Severn rivers. I was selected for this command, and the same afternoon of our arrival at Yorktown I received an order from general Emory to take the 104th Pennsylvania and the 98th New York regiments to that point and hold it. The men had had no rest from the march of the day, but they obeyed the order cheerfully. We crossed from Yorktown in a small steamer about dark, and bivouacked on the plain in the rear of the fort. A few rations were taken along for immediate use. As there was no transportation at hand, the men were obliged to roll the barrels of beef and carry the boxes of hard bread through the sand to the plain, nearly half a mile from the landing. The gunboat Chocura lay off the point for its protection, and soon after landing captain

Pattison came ashore and introduced himself. He is a native of Louisiana. I breakfasted with him next day, and partook of a more inviting meal than I had sat down to for some time. Our camp equipage did not arrive that night, which being damp, with a heavy dew falling, the men were chilled through before morning. In the morning the 104th was moved into the fort. On the 22d the 100th New York was sent over to replace the 98th, which was returned to Yorktown. I was re-enforced by a battery of four three-inch rifle guns, under command of lieutenant Mink, a gallant young officer. It was encamped inside the fort and the guns placed in the bastions. The 100th regiment encamped outside. The picket line was established nearly a mile in front of the fort, and extended across the Peninsula from Sarah's creek to York river. The day we reached Yorktown from Harrison's landing, William Worthington, of company F, died, and was buried in the soldiers' cemetery just below the town.

The fort at Gloucester point was a regular pentagon, and probably the largest earthwork ever built in this country. Following the exterior slope of the ditch the distance around it was about a mile. The enemy commenced its erection soon after the war began, and it is said a thousand negroes were occupied upon it for about twelve months. It occupied nearly the site of the old Revolutionary works erected by the British in 1781, and near it were the ruins of the brick house general Tarleton used for a hospital during the siege of Yorktown, by Washington. The fort had all the appliances of a first-class, regular work, and was planned by skilful engineers. At the angle of the river was a strong water battery, from which the enemy had removed the guns. When the fort was evacuated in May, the guns were left in it, but had since been burst. I was ordered to put it in thorough repair. We commenced work a day or two after we occupied it, which was continued for about three months, several hundred men being engaged on it daily. The amount of labor done on and about it was very great, for it was

very much out of order. Among other repairs, one sala-porte was closed up, and the other two narrowed to the proper width for gates; the ditch, which was nearly filled with sand in several places, was cleaned out; portions of the parapet newly sodded; all of the slopes dressed up, and some of them graded. A bomb-proof running across the parade, and large enough to accommodate a thousand men, was finished. As the enemy had not completed the work, a large part of the surface of the parade required grading. Most of the platforms were re-laid. When done, it presented a neat appearance, and all agreed it paid for the labor expended on it. All the timber within a thousand yards was cut down; and as the country round about was level, an enemy approaching in the face of a determined garrison would not have had a pleasant time in the encounter. The ramparts were high above the river, and commanded the stream as far as guns could carry. The position at Gloucester point was commanded by that at Yorktown, and the party that held the latter controlled the former. The fort had five large bastions.

We remained at this post over four months, during which time very little of interest took place that is worth recording. The realities of war were rolling around us, leaving us in a state of comparative peace. During this period we saw few of the hardships incident to a campaign in an enemy's country.

On the 25th of August, in command of the 104th and a squadron of cavalry, I was ordered to accompany lieutenant Bowen, Topographical Engineers, in a reconnoissance a few miles into the interior. We marched at 3 o'clock, p.m. on the main road to Gloucester court house, and bivouacked for the night at Hickory fork, eight miles out. We passed through a beautiful agricultural country, yet untouched by the hand of war. The farms were large and well-cultivated, and generally owned by men of wealth. The whole region was so peaceful and tranquil that it hardly seemed possible that the country was torn by the agonies of civil war.—



Herd of cattle and flocks of sheep were browsing on the broad meadows, while poultry strutted about in the security of the most peaceful times. We found a few farms deserted by their owners, who had either joined the enemy in the field, or placed themselves under his protection at Richmond. On the way up we passed the Abingdon Episcopal church, a fine old edifice, built more than a century ago of bricks imported from England. It is situated in a beautiful oak grove in the midst of a rich and populous neighborhood.

Near our bivouack was the plantation of one Willie T. Robinson, who had fled his home and left his estate to the management of his slaves, who had not as yet turned contraband. The buildings and surroundings indicated wealth and position in the owner. His barn was filled with hay and grain, his fields covered with flocks and herds, and poultry and fruit were abundant. The men learning that Mr. Robinson was in arms against us, asked permission to make a raid on his poultry-yard, which was granted, and that evening many a chicken, duck and goose gave up the ghost.

The next morning chaplain Gries and myself accompanied lieutenant Bowen, with an escort of cavalry, across the country to Eagle point, where it was agreed the gun-boat Chocura should meet us by steaming up the Severn. The regiment was conducted back to camp by major Rogers. We rode about twelve miles in an east-south-east course, and arrived at the point about noon and stopped at the house of a Mr. Bryan. The country we passed through was still more beautiful and productive than the region we traversed yesterday. The well-stocked and well-cultivated farms made a delightful impression on the mind. Blooded cattle, well-filled barns, and fruit every where abounded. On the way we halted at the plantation of a Mr. Clark, who lived at an old-fashioned Virginia homestead, such as we were wont to see in the palmy days of the Old Dominion. Mr. and Mrs. C. very politely invited us to dismount and enter the house, which we declined to do for want of



time. The servants brought us delicious peaches, figs and pears, fresh from the garden, which we ate with a relish as we sat on our horses, and chatted with host and hostess of war and politics. We found Mr. C. a stanch rebel, with three sons in the army, while Mrs. C. was no less warm in the cause. They complained bitterly of the blockade, which they admitted hugged them very closely in its embrace and deprived them of many useful and necessary articles. They stood more in need of brandy and salt than any thing else. They were both much alarmed when they saw us approaching, and Mrs. Clark remarked that the sight of the blue coats gave her a pain in the back. With a promise to call again and take dinner, we rode away.

The mansion at Eagle point stands in a beautiful oak-grove and looks out upon a wide expanse of water abounding with the finest oysters and water fowl. The broad hall was ornamented with deer antlers and other articles that reminded one of "ye olden time." The wife of the overseer prepared us a dinner of chickens, bacon, greens and corn bread, to which we did ample justice and paid full price. We went on board the gunboat at 2 p. m., and dropped anchor at Gloucester point at 6. The return trip was exceedingly pleasant.

At first it was the intention of the authorities to place a heavy armament in the fort at Gloucester point, but the idea was abandoned. At one time a few 100-pounders, with their carriages were landed and with great labor were hauled up by the men, but it was afterward discovered that they were intended for Yorktown, and they had to be hauled back with equal fatigue. While we were repairing the fort general Viele, who commanded at Norfolk, told me that there were several hundred idle contrabands at that place, and that a number could be had to work on the fortification. I made requisition for two hundred, but never received a man. While I remained in command the heaviest guns mounted on the fort were the 3-inch rifles of Mink's battery.

Our lines being limited in extent, there were included in them but few of the inhabitants. With a single exception they were quiet, orderly, people and gave no trouble. Mr. Dobson, one of the parties, was connected with some of the leading families of the county, and his wife was a daughter of colonel Hayes, a wealthy gentleman who lived a few miles up the country. She was rebel to the back-bone, and very bitter. General Dix ordered their house to be taken for a hospital, which made her furious, and she threatened to burn it down before the hated Yankees could get possession of it. It was seized, however, before she could put her threat into execution, and a strong guard placed over it. There were found in it a quantity of arsenic, which it is said she threatened to throw down the well, part of a keg of powder and two loaded guns. She told the surgeon in charge that when she met him in h—l she would scratch his eyes out. She and her husband, with their effects, were placed outside our lines. Our picket lines were strictly maintained, and no person was allowed to go beyond without a pass from the general officer in command at Yorktown. All were allowed to enter who claimed the protection of the government, and some days there was a large number of negroes who came in to eat rations under the protecting care of good-natured Uncle Samuel. Sometimes these colored fugitives came with immense bundles that contained the wardrobe of master or mistress, with the latter following closely upon their heels. In such cases "American citizens of African descent" would be made to disgorge their contraband property. A contraband camp was formed at Yorktown, where some of the men worked in the quartermaster's or commissary's department.

The first expedition into the enemy's country from Gloucester point, for the purpose of making reprisals, was on the night of the 16th of September. During the day it was reported that cattle were being collected at the house of one Jarret, said to hold a major's commission in the rebel army, to be driven to Richmond the next morning. I determined to capture them. I detailed compa-

nies F and G, 104th, and one company of the 100th New York, and placed them under command of major Rogers, who was ordered to proceed to the place where the cattle were said to be, and seize them. He left camp about 9 o'clock, p.m., but on reaching the picket line he was delayed by the guide a considerable time. On reaching Jarret's house thirty-one head were found in an adjoining field, which a member of the family admitted were to be driven to Richmond. He returned to the fort at 2 o'clock in the morning with the cattle, which were turned over to the post commissary at Yorktown for the use of the army.

On Saturday, the 26th of September, there was an important arrival at Gloucester point. On that day the men who had been made prisoners at the battle of Fair Oaks rejoined the regiment. They were forty-seven in number, of which forty belonged to company E. They had been confined in the rebel prisons at Richmond and Saulsbury, N. C., nearly four months. Their arrival created quite an excitement among their old companions. Many ran down to the landing to greet them as they came ashore, and as they crossed the ramparts into the fort the whole regiment received them with a shout of welcome. Their forlorn appearance was a silent relator of the hardships they had endured. They were immediately furnished with new clothing, which they put on as soon as they had bathed their bodies in the cool waters of the running river. A number of them were turned over to the kind attention of surgeon Robinson, while all were excused from duty for a couple of weeks to give them time to recover their strength. Several were left behind, sick in hospital. The men spoke of their treatment, while prisoners of war, as harsh in the extreme. At the same time we received twenty recruits, and sixteen convalescents from hospitals, some of whom had been wounded on the Peninsula.

The first month's residence at Gloucester point had very materially improved the health of the regiment. The men had lost that sickly appearance which they had while campaigning on the

Chickahominy. They had access to an abundance of fish and oysters, and fine salt water bathing which, added to the salubrity of the situation, worked the marked change in their personal appearance. For the month of September the surgeon's report shows the number excused from duty, at the sick call in the morning, to vary from two on the 8th, the lowest, to twenty-one on the 15th, the highest, but which had dropped down to thirteen on the 23d; which exhibits a good sanitary condition in a regiment five hundred strong, in a sickly month, and while engaged in heavy fatigue duty.

The returned prisoners gave a somewhat interesting account of their experience while in the hands of the enemy. Company E was captured about six o'clock in the evening by the 1st South Carolina volunteers as it was falling back down the York river railroad, near Fair Oaks station. The enemy had been lying in ambush. The prisoners were conducted through the swamp and bushes to the Nine Mile road, which they struck near the headquarters of general Naglee. This was close by the camp of the 104th, but the men were not permitted to go to their tents to get their knapsacks. The camp was filled with rebel soldiers, who were helping themselves to clothing. They were then conducted over the ground where the 104th had fought, on which they saw many of our men lying. Passing to the rear, they soon came up to the main body of the enemy. Here their reception was amusing. The first salutation they received was, "What are youens come down here to fight weens for? Youens are going to Richmond, are you? We expect you will get there before you want to. We expect you will stay at home and mind your own business, and not come down here to invade our soil." They were then marched about a mile to the rear, where the enemy's reserves were stationed. Here they remained all night.

The next morning they were conducted to Richmond under a guard of cavalry, distance some four miles. The road was filled with

stragglers and wounded soldiers, and every house they-passed was a hospital. They arrived at 8 o'clock, a. m. As they were marched through the streets to the prison, they were saluted by females, crying: "Well, you got to Richmond; you got here sooner than you expected." They were put into the Libby tobacco warehouse for a few days, when they were transferred to Saulsbury, North Carolina, where they arrived on the 5th of June. This was a decided change for the better, as they were treated with much less severity. They were confined in an old cotton factory with a shaded yard attached, the whole surrounded by a high board fence, The prisoners were allowed the privilege of the yard from 6 a. m. to 6 p. m., with two meals a-day.

To amuse themselves during the weary hours of their confinement, they initiated games and amusements of divers kinds. A favorite occupation was manufacturing articles of ornament from their meat bones, some of which were prettily made and fashioned with commendable skill. Many of them were sold to the citizens, which enabled the men to purchase little necessities for themselves; while others were brought home as mementoes of their prison life. Their only tools were their pocket-knives, or old case-knives made into saws. On the 4th of July the prisoners were allowed to celebrate our National Independence. It was quite a festive occasion. The officers formed the men into procession and marched them to a platform, where the Declaration and the Farewell Address of Washington were read, which was followed by singing several patriotic songs. The afternoon was devoted to amusements, among which were embraced a wheelbarrow race, a bag race, followed by a chase after a well-greased and well-shaven pig. He was a slippery customer to handle, and the one who caught him was to be paid his value. The fortunate captor was corporal Christian Bickel, company E, 104th. The exercises of the day were concluded by a game of base ball among the officers for a silver cup. There were confined there, also, several citizen prisoners. One dark, stormy

night, several of them made an attempt to escape. They were discovered by the sentinel, who cried out to the corporal of the guard that the Yanks were getting out. The corporal ordered the sentinel to shoot them, but this functionary replied that his "gun would not push." A few prisoners escaped, and the lieutenant of the guard was shot by accident by one of the sentinels. The prisoners were transferred to Richmond about the middle of August, preparatory to being discharged. They were confined on Belle island until the 12th of September, when they signed their paroles. The next day they left Richmond for Aiken's landing on the James river, where they took steamboat for Annapolis, and thence to the convalescent camp at Alexandria, and Gloucester point. Of those captured at Fair Oaks, two are known to have died at Richmond—Lewis H. Eckhart, of company B, and sergeant Erwin, of company —. They were both wounded, and were taken to Belle island. The former died on the island, and the latter on a flat-boat, which was conveying him to a hospital over in the city. General Naglee resumed command of the brigade on the 28th of September, after an absence of nearly three months. General Emory, who was relieved, accompanied general Banks on his expedition to New Orleans. He is esteemed one of the most intelligent and best informed men in the army, and was well liked by the men.

During the month of September the following promotions were made in the regiment, viz.: lieutenant Henry W. Harvey to be captain, vice Rogers promoted to the majority; orderly sergeant Laughlin to be first lieutenant, vice Harvey promoted; first lieutenant Kephart to be captain, vice Orum resigned; second lieutenant McCoy to be first lieutenant, vice Kephart promoted; and orderly sergeant William P. Haney to be second lieutenant, vice McCoy promoted.



## CHAPTER XII.

Regiment made comfortable.—Drills begin.—Soldiers tried for murder.—Search for rebel mails.—Fine oysters.—Arrival of ladies.—Regimental mess.—Picket lines attacked.—Our loss.—Retaliation.—Target firing.—Promotion.—Contraband.—Command increased.—Armorer appointed.—Cold weather.—Expedition to Matthews county.—Its result.—Whiskey left behind.

AS soon as the repairs to the fort were finished, attention was turned to making the garrison comfortable, each regiment managing its own improvement in this particular. The 104th and the battery were still encamped inside the fort and the 100th regiment outside. It was now presumed we would remain here all winter, and the arrangements were made accordingly. A large supply of fuel was cut and piled up in the fort. For some time a detail of two companies was made daily to go into the slashing and cut timber, which in good weather averaged twenty cords a day. The party was in charge of sergeant Jonathan White. New Sibley tents with stoves were issued to the troops. A new camp for the 104th was laid out with the greatest regularity along the curtain connecting the north-west and south-west bastions. The tents were stockaded about five feet from the ground with split pine logs, and floored with pine boards. This raised them high enough from the ground to allow a door through which a man could walk upright. The stockades were whitewashed. This arrangement added greatly to the comfort and convenience of the tents, and one would now accommodate a dozen men quite comfortably. A log kitchen,



twelve feet square, covered with shingles or boards, with brick fire-places, was built for each company. To economize space, two kitchens were built under the same roof, divided by a stockade partition. By order of general Keyes a commissary store-house, forty-five by twenty-five feet, capable of holding rations for the garrison for thirty days was erected. It was also stockaded, but the logs were hewn so as to make close joints. It was bossed by sergeants Ryan and Fox, and was a building that would do credit to mechanics any where. A comfortable guard house with officers' quarters attached, was also erected. A portion of the lumber for these buildings was issued by the quartermaster at Yorktown, and the rest obtained in the neighborhood outside our lines. Sutler McCarty built a large store-house, and captain Duncan, in anticipation of his family spending part of the winter with him, erected a comfortable little dwelling in the south-east bastion. In connection with these improvements and to further the comfort of the men for the coming winter, a complete outfit of warm clothing was drawn and issued to them.

When the fatigue was finished, the attention of the officers was turned to regular and systematic drills. Neatness and discipline were strictly enforced. In a little time so great emulation was established that it was a difficult matter to select the cleanest man at guard mounting to be excused from duty for the next twenty-four hours. To foster a greater spirit of emulation in the matter of cleanliness, a beautiful medal of gold and blue enamel was purchased, which was awarded at Sunday morning inspection to the cleanest and most soldierly-looking man in the regiment. The one who got it carried it for a week and was excused from all duty for this period. The regiment was inspected by an officer entirely disinterested, and the award was the recognition of merit. During the period of which I write, that portion of the brigade encamped on the Yorktown side of the river had not been reposing in idleness. The works there were much enlarged and strengthened, and hun-

dreds of men were kept at work on them. The timber within cannon range was cut down, while the intrenchments that the army of the Potomac threw up during the siege of the spring before, were levelled, to prevent an enemy using them for any offensive purpose. A new and much heavier armament was provided for the works, among which were several large rifled pieces.

In October several soldiers of the 1st Pennsylvania artillery were tried before a military commission at Yorktown for committing a brutal murder near that place. It appeared from the evidence that on the 4th of September a number of them left camp, without permission, and went down the river on a plundering expedition. They entered the premises of a Mr. Dawson, and while robbing his orchard one of them was badly beaten by some person about the farm. The next day they returned with several others, to have revenge. While passing along the road toward Cheeseman's landing, they overtook a Mr. Stokes, a harmless citizen of the neighborhood, returning home in his cart from Yorktown. Without previous acquaintance, or the least provocation, they attacked him, knocked him out of the cart, and beat and stabbed him in such a manner that he died of his wounds. The two most guilty were hanged, and the others punished more lightly. The example was a good one, and no doubt had a salutary effect upon that class of soldiers who think themselves privileged to maltreat the inhabitants of the country where they are stationed. Our army was continually disgraced by the evil deeds of such characters.

It was strongly suspected that the enemy had a mail route from the head of Mobjack bay through a region of country known as Guinea, and thence through Gloucester court house to Richmond. Understanding that a mail was to leave for the rebel capital on the night of the 8th instant, from the house of one Alexander Glass, near the mouth of Severn river, I despatched Captain Payne, 100th New York, with his company, to endeavor to intercept it. The house was surrounded and thoroughly searched, but no mail was

found. There was evidence of an early intention to visit Richmond, however. In one room was a basket filled with cakes, jellies, and other delicacies, and a valise packed with new shirts and many other articles of wardrobe labelled for an officer of Wise's legion. When it was too late, it was learned that the mail was to start from a neighboring house, and no doubt it reached its destination in safety. This was a region of country through which considerable illicit trade was carried on with the enemy. Boats would land their cargoes in the quiet waters that bordered it, when the goods would be loaded into wagons ready to receive them, and hurried off into the interior. Subsequently a gunboat was stationed in Mobjack bay and the trade, in a great measure, broken up. Captain Payne, who led this little expedition, afterward became quite distinguished as a scout in the operations before Charleston, where he was made prisoner in a boat reconnoissance in August 1863.

Our command was fortunate in being located near the finest oyster beds in the country, and as the height of the season was at hand, officers and men indulged without stint in the luxury of these delicious bivalves. York river has long been celebrated for its fine oysters, and for many years the Virginians made their transportation to New York a lucrative business. It employed a number of vessels. As the owners were not allowed to carry them away since the war began, they had accumulated in immense numbers. The bottom of Sarah's creek was literally one great oyster bed, and in the river they were found clinging to the rocks in great clusters. Those that were planted and cultivated were esteemed superior to those that grew where nature deposited them. For the convenience of the garrison, a citizen living inside the lines was permitted to open an oyster house, where they were to be found at all times, "roasted, fried, or on the shell." The companies were permitted to go oystering in turn and sometimes they returned with several bushels. In addition there were fine water fowl, and fish of several varieties in the river and creeks. One or the other of these

delicacies graced the mess of the officers and men daily, and not only contributed to the luxury of living, but were beneficial to health. To prevent imposition, a tariff of prices was fixed to govern the sales of oystermen to the garrison. Several officers who expected their wives to spend the winter with them had prepared comfortable quarters just outside the fort, between it and the camp of the 100th New York. The location had given to it the name of "Quality Row." Among the ladies who came down to cheer up the camp life of her husband was Mrs. Harvey, wife of captain H. of the 104th. Mrs. Holmes also made a visit to her husband, who was post-commissary at Yorktown. Later in the season the wife of captain Duncan arrived, and remained for a few days. These domestic arrangements were sadly broken in upon just before New Year, by the troops being ordered south to engage in active operations. The latter part of October sixteen additional recruits arrived for the regiment, which, with those who had joined before and the returned prisoners of war, increased our strength about one hundred men.

One of the useful institutions of the post was a regimental mess established by the officers of the 104th. They clubbed together and employed a couple of colored men to open the establishment, where reasonably good board, and at a moderate price, could be obtained. A large hospital tent served as a dining room, and a wall tent in the rear was used for a kitchen. With a cow, a plentiful supply of fish and oysters, frequent water fowls, with the privilege of purchasing the more substantial articles of the commissary of subsistence, the proprietors were enabled to keep up a very respectable table. The patrons were well pleased with the arrangement, and regretted when a change of location compelled them to give it up. When the regiment left the fort the establishment was inherited by the garrison that succeeded us. Our army should follow the example of that of Great Britain in regard to messes, and compel the officers of each regiment to maintain one when stationed at a post or occupying other locality that affords the proper facility. The influence is

every way beneficial to the service. It improves the social qualities and good feeling among the officers, and besides looks more Christian-like to meet face to face at meal time around a well-spread board, than to sit in one's tent and munch the ration alone like a hermit. The first week in November captain W. W. Marple was sent to Harrisburg to bring on the drafted men required to fill the regiment to its maximum number. After waiting several days he returned without them, as it had been determined, mean while, that they should be formed into regiments. For the month of October the average of sick was a little over four per cent. of the whole number, showing a remarkable condition of health compared to the troops on the other side of the river, where in some regiments it went up as high as twenty-five per cent.

One night a stranger came to the picket and represented himself a Union man who lived down the river a few miles; that he desired to come within our lines for the protection of himself and family. He stated that his political sentiments had made him obnoxious to his neighbors. Lieutenant Lehen, with company E, was sent down in a light-draft steamer, which brought him and his effects up to Yorktown, whence they were furnished with transportation to Baltimore. While we were at Gloucester point, captains Swartzlander and Corcoran, both badly wounded at Fair Oaks, rejoined the regiment.

Our first and only conflict with the enemy while at this post was an affair that happened on the morning of the 16th of November at the Hook store, a mile from the fort, between a small party of the 104th, under lieutenant Markley, and a company of the enemy's local cavalry, known as the King and Queen rangers. That afternoon two squadrons of our cavalry, with a piece of artillery, under major Hall, had crossed the river on their way to make a reconnoissance to Gloucester court-house. They bivouacked for the night in the edge of the timber near the fort. Just before midnight I received information that the enemy's cavalry was on its way to



attack our lines. A messenger was sent to major Hall to put him on his guard and to request his assistance, but he had already left. Company D, 104th, and one company of the 100th New York, were sent out to strengthen the pickets, with directions for lieutenant Markley to take ten or fifteen men and place them in ambush in a wood a few hundred yards outside the lines.

He advanced his party of seven men nearly a mile from the lines and placed them behind a fence at the Hook store. Between two and three o'clock cavalry were heard advancing, and when they came within seventy-five yards lieutenant Markley cried "Halt." After the interval of a few minutes sergeant Leatherberry called out "Who goes there?" The enemy responded "Friends." The sergeant then asked "Who do you call friends?" To which they replied "Federals." Another of the party then asked to what regiment they belonged. To which they replied "105th Pennsylvania cavalry." Sergeant Rosenberger then cried out that would not answer, and called to the approaching party to "Stand." Lieutenant Markley immediately gave the order to fire, which his own men and the enemy did almost simultaneously. Four of the little party fell, one killed and three wounded. The enemy then charged upon them and captured the three who remained unhurt. He then rode off with his prisoners toward Richmond. Lieutenant Markley reported his disaster to the field-officer of the day on the picket line, when a party was sent out to bring in the body of the one killed and the wounded man who could not help himself. The other two found their way to camp by daylight. The party attacked consisted of sergeants Rosenberger, Leatherberry and private Shelley, captured; privates Baltz killed, and Heller, Geary and Trumbower wounded. After several weeks' confinement the prisoners were sent home under parole. All rejoined the regiment except Shelley, who deserted.

Lieutenant Markley was censured for his conduct on this occasion, and to determine his responsibility he requested a court of

inquiry. It was granted and met a few days afterward. Colonel West, chief of artillery of the 4th corps, was president. After an examination of the circumstances they submitted the following report, which was approved, viz :

“Lieutenant Markley’s errors on the occasion mentioned were those of inexperience and not of inattention, and that a proper regard for the public interest would not warrant further proceedings in the case.”

For this unprovoked attack on the pickets the neighborhood was made to suffer a severe retaliation. Two white men and a negro were arrested and taken to Yorktown, one, the young man who was clerk in the store before which the men of the 104th were shot down, and the other a physician of the hamlet. They were put to inconvenience by being detained some time, but suffered no personal injury. The tide mill on the creek at the picket line was taken possession of and run for the use of the troops. Heretofore persons living on both sides of the line had been permitted to take grists there to be ground, but this privilege was now entirely prohibited. It was placed in charge of corporal Perry and private Ellis, who gave it a complete overhauling and run it to grind flour and corn meal for the garrison. The order was afterward so far relaxed that the citizens living within the lines were permitted to patronize the mill. A small wind-mill on York river was also seized, and as they were the only two in that section of country the inhabitants were put to great inconvenience by not being allowed to use them. The grain and flour in both mills were confiscated. The Hook store was ordered to be burned, and on the following Friday night lieutenant-colonel Hart, with two companies of the 104th, H and I, were sent out to put the order into execution. Being frame, and old and dry, it was soon in flames and reduced to ashes. The country was lighted up for miles around, and it served as a warning to others. Mr. Scott, our sutler, resigned on the 24th, and Michael H. Jenks, late quartermaster-sergeant, was



elected in his stead. Great offence was given to the troops the latter part of the month by the inauguration of brigade drills on Sunday. It was the custom of the general Naglee, to send two or three regiments across the river from Yorktown, which, united with those stationed at Gloucester, made a full brigade, which was drilled on the beautiful plain for several hours. As the President's order had set the Sabbath apart as a day of rest, the officers and men went to the field with reluctance. There was no necessity for such military display in the absence of active operations.

Our occupation of Gloucester point was an advantage to the men, in point of discipline and instruction, which could not have been enforced in the field. It gave us an opportunity to practise the new system of target firing established by the War Department. Each soldier was permitted to expend ten cartridges a week in this practice, and the result of the firing was duly reported at head quarters. A few preliminary lessons were given to the commissioned officers, in estimating distances, and the method of aiming, which in turn they communicated to their men. A little practice enabled them to estimate a given distance in yards or feet with a great deal of accuracy. The targets were made of canvas, stretched on frames, and crossed by a vertical and horizontal stripe, two inches wide. A correct record was kept of each shot, and at the end of the month a return was made up showing the number of shots, the number of hits, and the ratio of hits for each hundred shots fired. The distance commenced with was one hundred and fifty yards. The men improved under this practice, but the best firing made did not show much over one third hits in proportion to the shots fired, which was probably the average firing of our regiments. If only one shot in three hits, when fired at a target, it can easily be understood why so many cartridges are wasted in action when there is little opportunity to take aim. The European armies are far ahead of ours in rifle-practice, where schools are established and firing with the rifle taught as a science. Our regimental library received quite an ad-

dition of books while at this post, the contribution of Mr. S. A. Nichols, of Reading. They numbered between two and three hundred volumes. Books were in great demand among the men, and all that the little library contained were in constant use.

In the month of November the following names were forwarded to Harrisburg for promotion, viz:—First lieutenant Groff to be captain, vice Walters, resigned: second lieutenant Ashenfelder to be first lieutenant, vice Groff, promoted: orderly sergeant Bitting to be second lieutenant, vice Ashenfelder, promoted: orderly sergeant Scarborough to be second lieutenant, vice Robinson, resigned. At the same time sergeant-major Wallazz was appointed adjutant of the regiment, vice Hart promoted to lieutenant-colonel. Assistant surgeon Hendrie resigned his commission after serving with the regiment three months and a half.

The contraband system gave us considerable trouble. During the fall the practice had grown up of permitting crowds of negroes to cross from Yorktown to Gloucester on Sunday morning. They were allowed to visit the picket line, and the officers and men on duty there found it impossible to prevent them holding communication with their friends outside. Market was held on the line, Sunday morning, and it was quite evident the meetings were arranged in many instances for the purpose of conveying information back and forth. Nearly every negro came with a well-filled bag to pass over the line. One was detected smuggling through a knapsack filled with clothing, and another a pair of new government shoes. Five contrabands whom we had fed at Yorktown made their escape to the enemy, and were, no doubt, employed spies. These visits became a source of so much annoyance, and promised to be so fruitful of mischief, that they were prohibited, when the trouble ceased. Hereafter all negroes within our lines at Gloucester were registered and furnished with passes, which gave them restricted privileges. The 104th employed twenty-four as private servants, and the 100th had about an equal number.

About the first of December several militia regiments, a portion of the new levies, arrived at Yorktown and reported to general Keyes. They were mainly from Pennsylvania, and mustered in for nine months. The 169th was assigned to my command, and was placed in camp on the river bank just to the east of the fort. It was composed of as fine material as I had ever seen, and when properly drilled and disciplined, made excellent troops. At the request of the commanding officer, I detailed two commissioned, and several non-commissioned, officers, from the 104th, as drill masters, namely, captain Groff, lieutenant Laughlin, and sergeants Porter, Tyson, Purcell, Mitchener, Spangler, Strawbridge and Bissey, and corporals McGraudy and Houssam. They set about their work with diligence, and there was a marked improvement from day to day. The instruction was continued while we remained at the post.

By virtue of general order No. 189, from the war department, each regimental commander, whose regiment was armed with any other arms than the Springfield rifled muskets of the years 1855-'61, was authorized to appoint an armorer, who was required to be a competent and skilful mechanic. He was to receive forty cents a-day in addition to his pay as soldier. I appointed corporal Quimby, of company H, to this position. The ordnance department furnished him with a chest of tools and spare parts, which enabled him to repair our Austrian rifles whenever they required it. It was found to be a great convenience in the field, and many a rifle that would otherwise have been thrown aside as worthless, was saved to the government. The chest of tools included a small forge and a peck of coal.

During a portion of the time the weather was bitterly cold. The duty on the picket line was very severe, and at times all the endurance the men possessed was called for. They, with their officers were required to perform the full term of twenty-four hours without being relieved or seeking shelter, in spite of rain or cold. The darker and stormier the night, the greater the vigilance require

Fire was not allowed under any circumstances, and oftentimes it was far from a pleasant occupation to stand silently on post and wait and watch for the morning to dawn. Our line to be guarded was a mile and a half long. In all my experience I have never known the duty to be done with more fidelity. The best evidence of the manner in which it was discharged, is the fact that nothing was molested outside the line, where a state of quiet reigned. A faithful sentinel is a jewel in the service. One gunboat lay opposite the point all the time, and frequently two. In October the Chocura was relieved by the side-wheel steamer Mehaska, commander Foxhall Parker. A code of signals was agreed upon, so as to direct her fire in case the fort should be attacked in the night, and also to keep the commanding general at Yorktown advised of what was going on at the front. The gunboats occasionally made excursions to the neighboring waters to look after contraband trade.

The last of November an expedition went up into Mathews county to destroy salt works that had been supplying the enemy. The land force consisted of three hundred men of the 52d Pennsylvania and the 11th Maine, under command of Major Conyngham. They were embarked on the Mehaska, and a small tug, at night, steamed up the east river and landed two miles from the Mathews court house. The infantry was accompanied on its march by a boat howitzer, drawn by forty sailors from the gunboat, in charge of master Blake. They marched ten miles, and in all broke up between thirty and forty kettles, and destroyed some three thousand bushels of salt. Our loss was one officer and two men, who straggled away from the command, and were picked up by the enemy's cavalry. A few of the leading citizens were seized, but were released. After the return of the troops, an officer remarked to the writer that the expedition was a complete success, except in one particular—their failure to bring with them three barrels of fine old whisky which was found in the house of one Sandy Smith. The

only excuse for this neglect was, that they did not appreciate how good it was until it had been left behind.

The following additional promotions were made in the regiment the 3d of December, viz:—second lieutenant Kessler to be first lieutenant, vice Hinkle resigned; orderly sergeant Myers to be second lieutenant, vice Kessler promoted; orderly sergeant Taylor to be second lieutenant, vice Albertson resigned. Lieutenant Kessler was on recruiting service when promoted, and never rejoined his company. He was commissary of subsistence at the recruiting depot, Harrisburg, Pa., a considerable time, and afterward served in the same capacity on the staff of general Couch, during the rebel invasion of the summer of 1863. He resigned in August of that year, on account of bad health.

## CHAPTER XIII.

Reconnoissance to Gloucester court house.—Visit home.—Troops leave Gloucester.—Sail with sealed orders.—Land in North Carolina.—Rejoin the troops.—Our location.—Final destination unknown.—Placed in command of brigade.—Camps dull.—Glee club and concert.—Joined by other troops.—We sail South.—Our strength.—How troops lived on board.—Transports at sea.—Destination known.—Destined for Charleston.

**I**N the absence of general Keyes general Naglee made a reconnoissance in force to Gloucester court house and the surrounding country. The column consisted of four regiments of infantry of his own brigade, a battery of artillery, and two squadrons of cavalry. They marched on the morning of the 11th of December, at 6 o'clock, and bivouacked at the court house that afternoon. The general overtook them at 6 o'clock p. m. At the time the column marched, ninety men of the 6th New York cavalry and one company of the Independent battalion embarked on board a steam ferry boat, and were conveyed round into the Piankatunk river, by the gunboat Mehaska, and landed near Matthews court house the next morning. They marched across the country and joined the main body the same afternoon. They encountered a party of mounted rangers, but met with no serious opposition. Reconnoitring parties, horse and foot, were sent out in all directions from Gloucester court house to beat up the enemy and intercept contraband trade.

On the morning of the 13th the 5th Pennsylvania, and a detachment of the 6th New York cavalry, accompanied by the general,

pushed a reconnoissance in the direction of Buena Vista, the headquarters of the King and Queen rangers. The enemy retreated on the approach of our forces, and were pursued to Centreville, two miles beyond. On the return of the cavalry the enemy's barracks were burned and some subsistence stores destroyed. The 14th, the cavalry was sent into Middlesex county, to destroy a large tannery that was manufacturing leather for the rebel army. The buildings, machinery, and two thousand hides were destroyed, and several wagon loads of finished leather brought away. The proprietors were made prisoners and carried to Yorktown. The same afternoon the force marched back to Gloucester point and that evening crossed over to Yorktown. They returned loaded with plunder, in the shape of horses, cattle, sheep, hogs, and corn, which were turned over to the proper officers. Fifteen or twenty prisoners were fetched along, among whom was a captain Sewell, a member of the convention that forced Virginia out of the union. The expedition was marred by disgraceful pillaging on the part of some of the troops, which was of such a shameful character as to receive the public condemnation of the commanding general.

At this time our most advanced pickets on the Peninsula were a short distance beyond Williamsburg, which town was held by our cavalry. Occasionally there was skirmishing between the opposing forces, and once the enemy drove our troops out and seized the town, but only held it a few hours. The State Insane Asylum located here, fell into our care and was given adequate protection.— A surgeon of the army was assigned to manage it, and at one time the commissary of subsistence at Yorktown sent to it 3000 prepared rations for the inmates. The rebel troops on the Peninsula at this time were in part Wise's legion.

On the 23rd of December I left Gloucester point to go home on a seven days' leave of absence, from the War Department. Before the expiration of the leave I learned that the brigade was under marching orders. Not wishing to be left behind, I hurried south



as rapidly as possible to join my command. I reached Fortress Monroe the morning of the 31st of December, to find that the 104th had sailed two days before, with sealed orders, for an unknown point.

This movement was sudden and unexpected. The first intimation received of it was on the 24th, when a circular was sent to regimental commanders, directing them to have their commands ready to move by water at short notice. Two days' rations were cooked and kept on hand, and the other necessary preparations made for embarking. Some of the regiments embarked earlier, but the 104th did not get aboard until Sunday the 28th. The baggage and camp equipage were shipped the night before in a rain storm. To this regiment was assigned the William Woodbury, a fine sailing vessel of twelve hundred tons burden, and with it was embarked the Independent battalion, New York volunteers, making in all, on board, an aggregate of eight hundred and ninety-one officers and men, the whole under the command of lieutenant-colonel Hart.—Ten days' uncooked rations were put on board each vessel, which sailed with sealed orders not to be opened until twenty miles south of cape Henry. The strength of the brigade at this time was four thousand three hundred and thirty-eight officers and men, and consisted of eight regiments. They were embarked on seven transports.

The regiment left the fort at Gloucester with some regret, and as the transports sailed down the river, many a longing, lingering, look was cast behind at the pleasant quarters that should know them no more forever. And then there were visions of oysters, and fish, and canvas-backs, and other comfortable things that were left behind. The prospects of active service, however, cheered up the men, and they took their departure for unknown parts in fine spirits. The transport reached Fortress Monroe Monday afternoon, and as soon as the sailing orders were received, she stood out to sea.

When I arrived at the fortress, the steamer Expounder, with the 52d regiment on board, was still at anchor in the harbor, and was to sail that afternoon. By the politeness of colonel Dodge, the commandant, I was provided with transportation and a state room, and went on board with my luggage. We steamed out the harbor at 3 p.m., in a strong gale from the north-east, and a heavy sea running. The wind increased, and the billows rolled higher and higher every hour since we hove up the anchor, and when we had got a few miles outside the capes, he considered it most prudent to return. He therefore steamed back and dropped anchor near the fortress until morning. The gale was a severe one, and we were fortunate in putting back, for the frail river steamer on which we were could hardly have weathered Hatteras. It was in this storm that the iron-clad Monitor foundered off this stormy cape, and went to the bottom with several of her officers and crew. The storm had moderated considerably by the next morning, when we again put to sea, this time not to return.

Twenty miles outside of the capes the sealed orders were opened, when it was found that our destination was the harbor of Beaufort, North Carolina. The short voyage was made without accident or incident, if I except the jumping overboard of a mule off Hatteras, which it is to be presumed was taken immediately to the bosom of Neptune, the ruler of the seas. We dropped anchor on Friday morning, the 2d of January. As we ran in, we passed the Woodbury, with the 104th on board, anchored two miles outside the bar waiting for a steam-tug to tow her over. The 52d disembarked the same afternoon at Morehead city, the port of Beaufort, and proceeded out to camp. The 104th was landed the next morning. All the other regiments of the brigade had preceded us, except the 56th, which arrived on the 4th.

The place selected for the camps was on the railroad three miles in the interior, and is known on the map of North Carolina as Carolina city. It is made up of a small depot and two or three dwellings.

Beaufort contained some two thousand inhabitants before the war, and is an unattractive village of cheerless-looking houses and sandy streets. Morehead is the terminus of the Atlantic and North Carolina railroad, and contained some twenty or thirty frame houses. The wharf and depot on it are among the finest structures of the kind in the country; built on cast-iron piles, with a double track running out to the end of the wharf, one on each side, with sufficient water for vessels of fifteen hundred tons burden to lie alongside to receive or discharge cargo. This road did a heavy business in peaceful times in bringing down naval stores for shipment to the Northern States or Europe. On the southern side of the harbor stands fort Macon, an old work. It fell into the hands of the enemy when the war broke out, but was re-taken in the spring of 1862, by general Parkes. It is built of earth, but revetted with masonry, and casemated. It mounts about fifty guns. At this time it was garrisoned by four companies commanded by a lieutenant of regular artillery.

The camps were pitched on both sides the railroad, and barring the general barrenness of the country, the situation was not an unpleasant one. It was sandy and healthy. The country is covered with pine timber, with an occasional opening where a family of poor whites were making a precarious living. As nothing but sweet potatoes could be bought, it was concluded this article was the staple of that part of the Old North State. The horses and transportation of the regiment had a more eventful trip than the men. They were left behind at sailing, and followed in the steamer John Brooks, which ran aground entering Hatteras inlet, and could not be got off. A sailing vessel took off her load, and carried it up the Neuse river to New Berne, whence they arrived at camp by rail on the 7th. One mule jumped overboard, but was recovered again. Chaplain Gries, who was at home when the regiment sailed, returned by another route and rejoined us on the 6th. From Fortress Monroe he went to Norfolk, thence by the Dismal Swamp canal and Curri-

tuck sound to Roanoke island, thence up Albemarle sound to New Berne, and down by railroad. A few sick men were left behind at Yorktown, and assistant surgeon Cadwallader was detailed to take charge of the hospital. He never rejoined us, but was soon afterward promoted to full surgeon of one of the new regiments.

The same uncertainty, as when we sailed, as to our final destination, still attended us, and madame Rumor sent us to all points on the coast down to the mouth of the Rio Grande del Norte. Two points, Wilmington and Charleston, were most in favor. This uncertainty, if any thing, added interest to the situation.

Soon after we landed, the troops were re-organized. On the 3d of January I was placed in command of the brigade, and general Naglee repaired to New Berne to take command of the Department during the temporary absence of general Foster. On his return he placed Naglee in command of a division in the 18th corps, of which general Heckman commanded one brigade and I the other. From my present brigade three regiments were taken, the 56th, 81st and 98th New York. The two latter, the 9th New Jersey and the 23d Massachusetts formed Heckman's brigade; while mine consisted of the 11th Maine, 52d and 104th Pennsylvania, 100th, and Independent battalion, New York volunteers. The 56th New York was transferred to the brigade of colonel Joshua B. Howell.

We remained at Carolina city, waiting to embark, for we didn't know where, until the 21st of the month. The principal duty done was that of picket, and there was so little excitement that the *ennui* of camp began to be felt pretty severely. To break this monotony the Glee club of the 104th announced that they would give a musical entertainment to the officers of the brigade in the depot warehouse. This announcement attracted more attention in the camps than that of a first-class opera in New York or Philadelphia. The room was arranged with considerable taste. The stage was formed by laying boards on pork barrels, while other pork barrels, in two

tiers on end and covered with shelter tents for drapery, prevented inquisitive eyes from peeping behind the scenes. Our handsome garrison flag was draped over the stage. Cracker boxes placed in rows, with a broad aisle running through the middle of the room, were the seats. The brigade band did duty as orchestra. The boys laid themselves out in getting up the entertainment. The programme, consisting of three parts, was made up of choruses, comic, sentimental and operatic songs, and was concluded with a comic "After Piece," called "The Barber." The managers were privates Halback and Tool. The occasion was provided with door-keepers, ushers, directors, stage managers and the other necessary et cetera. The large room was nearly filled, and this pleasant effort of the enlisted men to amuse and entertain was fully appreciated. At the conclusion of the performance a collection was taken up for the performers, which netted twenty-eight dollars.

About the time of our arrival in North Carolina general Ferry arrived at New Berne, with his brigade, from Suffolk, Virginia. General Wessel, with his brigade, had re-enforced general Foster in the early winter, and accompanied him on his expedition to Kinston and Goldsboro. They were designed to form part of the expeditionary force. It was announced in orders that the troops intended for the expedition were to embark soon, and mean while the brigade, regimental and company commanders were putting them in the best possible condition for the severe service it was expected they would be called upon to perform.

Naglee's division was the first to embark, Heckman's brigade leading, mine following. The 104th and 11th regiments having been assigned the same vessel, the steamer Cahawba, broke camp on the 21st of January and marched down the railroad to Carolina city, where they took a tugboat, which carried them out to the steamer, which could not come into the wharf on account of the wind. The baggage and camp equipage were put on board and stowed away in hold before the troops were assigned to quarters.

The high wind made the process of embarkation tedious and dangerous. One man of the Independent battalion fell overboard and was drowned. Three brigades came down by rail from New Berne, and as the gale prevented the vessels getting round in time to receive them, there was a delay of a few days. They were all on board by the afternoon of the 27th, and the vessels drew out and anchored in the harbor. The entire force consisted of five brigades of infantry and one regiment of artillery, numbering in the aggregate about ten thousand men. There were also embarked several heavy guns and considerable material necessary for siege operations. Among the troops was the 174th regiment Pennsylvania militia, mostly composed of drafted men from Bucks county, and which formed part of Howell's brigade, Ferry's division.

When I assumed command of the brigade on the 3d instant, the following staff officers were appointed, viz:

Captain William Kreutzer, 98th New York, acting assistant adjutant-general.

Lieutenant Daniel T. Rix, 81st New York, and Lieutenant John McCoy, 104th Pennsylvania, aid-de-camps.

Captain Robert Holmes, U. S. V. commissary of subsistence.

Lieutenant Charles E. Walbridge, 100th N. Y., a. a. q. m.

Lieutenant John P. S. Weidemaul, 52d Pennsylvania, chief of ambulance corps.

These gentlemen were all present and immediately entered upon the discharge of their duties except Mr. McCoy, who was absent, sick. He joined in South Carolina. They all survived the war but Mr. Rix, who was afterward promoted to a captaincy, and was killed at the head of his regiment in the campaign of 1864, in Virginia. He was a most excellent gentleman and gallant officer.

Previously to sailing, general Naglee, who was in immediate command of all the forces embarked, made his headquarters on board the small steamer Secor, but when we put to sea they were transferred to the Cahawba. On one occasion he invited the field-officers



of his division to an excursion down the bay in his little steamer. The day was pleasant, the company agreeable, and the trip relieved the tedium of ship board. We ran down to the cape Look-out light, twelve miles, where the company went ashore. The light house is a circular brick tower one hundred and fifty feet high, fifteen in diameter at the base and eight at the top. The enemy removed the Fresnel, which the government had purchased in Paris, but left the machinery uninjured.

Our transport was a fine steamer of seventeen hundred tons burden, and was commanded by captain Baker, an experienced seaman. She ran between New York and New Orleans, and was in the latter city when the troubles broke out. While lying at the dock she was seized by a party of Texans, but was released by the governor of Louisiana. She was chartered by the government to carry troops, and at the period of which I write she was getting eight hundred dollars per day. She was estimated to carry fifteen hundred troops, but the eleven hundred now on board filled up all the available space, consistent with health and convenience. Before the troops were put on board she was supplied with thirty thousand rations, fifteen thousand gallons of water and coal for twenty days.—Bunks for three hundred men were put up between decks, and the balance were quartered on the upper and lower decks. The cabin was large and afforded accommodation for the officers.

The Cahawba was considered one of the best and safest transports in the service of the government. The arrangements for cooking could not be surpassed. Two large copper boilers had been put up in the forward pantry of capacity to boil eighty gallons of coffee or cook five hundred pounds of meat at one time. This enabled the troops to be served with rations at regular hours. Every thing was cooked by steam, by means of a pipe connecting with the engine boiler. A few minutes sufficed to boil coffee for a regiment. The cooking, likewise, was done by steam. The meats were boiled the night before, but the coffee was not put on until daylight. By 9 o'clock, a. m., both regiments had been served. The officers



took their meals at the ship's table in the cabin and paid one dollar a day, transportation being furnished them by the quartermaster's department. As far as practicable the same daily routine was observed on ship board as in camp. The calls, by bugle or drum, were sounded at stated hours from reveille to tattoo. The quarters were cleaned daily, and the decks sprinkled with fine white sand, under the superintendence of the surgeon. The men were assembled on the upper deck every morning. Great care had to be taken to prevent fire, and open lights were never allowed between decks. Water was served out as a precious article, which it always is on ship-board at sea, and the greatest care was taken to prevent it being wasted. The allowance for each man was a gallon a day, but the actual issue, including coffee, very rarely reached that quantity. The men soon adapted themselves to the discomforts of the steamer, but nevertheless became very tired of their floating camp long before they disembarked.

The fleet put to sea on Thursday the 29th of January, before the effects of the gale had entirely passed away. The commander of the troops on board each transport was furnished with sealed instructions which were not to be opened until off Wilmington, North Carolina. In the morning general Naglee transferred his headquarters to the Calhauwa, which he made the flag-ship of the expedition. The signal to get under weigh was made about noon, and immediately the transports hove up their anchors and stood down the harbor. The sailing vessels took the lead, and it was an unusually fine sight to see them hoist their sails like birds spreading their wings, and glide away over the glittering waters. The steamers followed in the wake of the flag-ship, which passed out over the bar at 5 p. m., and turned to the southward. When fairly over the bar I counted thirty vessels in sight, deployed in a semi-circle of several miles in extent.

When it became dark there was presented one of the most charming sights I have ever witnessed at sea. Each steamer carried at

the mast-head a signal lamp that she might be distinguished in the darkness; and the many colored lights thus displayed behind us resembled an illuminated avenue lit up by fairy hands. The motion of the vessels as they were swayed to and fro by the moving waters added greatly to the picturesqueness of the scene. This watery avenue of variegated lights followed us through the night, now and then a vessel dropping so far astern that the glimmer of her lamp could hardly be distinguished from the twinkle of the most distant star. Our course was parallel with, and about twenty miles from, the coast. In the morning there was only five or six steamers of the whole fleet in sight, all the sailing vessels having been left far behind in the night. When off the mouth of Cape Fear river, on which Wilmington is situated, the secret instructions were opened, and our destination made known for the first time. This was found to be Hilton Head, on Port Royal bay, South Carolina. It was then announced that our ultimate destination was Charleston, against which there was to be a combined attack, by land and sea, as soon as the preparations were completed. The iron-clads which had been sent down the coast were for this work. The announcement of the point to be attacked created considerable enthusiasm among the men, who appeared anxious to have a hand in capturing the city where the rebellion first broke out. Their subsequent experience taught them that Charleston was a very hard nut to crack, and none on board were fortunate enough to be in at the death. We passed the Charleston bar the night of the 30th, and heard heavy firing, which we afterward found proceeded from an attack of the enemy's iron-clads on our blockading fleet.

When we embarked at Morehead city transportation was refused for all horses, except those of brigade commanders and their staff officers, and the wagons. The consequence was, that those of the 104th and the teams were left behind to await the first opportunity to send them down. They did not rejoin us until some time in May, while encamped at Beaufort, S. C.

While we lay in the harbor of Beaufort, North Carolina, general Naglee issued an order for the formation of a battalion of sharpshooters in my brigade, each regiment to furnish two commissioned officers, twelve sergeants and corporals, and fifty privates. The officers detailed from the 104th, for this duty, were captain Groff, and lieutenant Hibbs. The enlisted men selected were the most trusty in the regiment. The battalion was placed in charge of lieutenant colonel Hoyt, 52nd regiment.

## CHAPTER XIV.

Anchor in Port Royal.—The harbor.—Blockaders off Charleston attacked.—Hilton Head.—Steam up to Beaufort.—Negro troops.—We land.—Take in coal and water.—Beaufort.—When abandoned.—Our destination now known.—Return to Port Royal.—We land on St. Helena island.—Go into camp.—Trouble among the generals.—Naglee relieved.—Officers take leave of him.—Negroes conscripted.

WE dropped anchor in the harbor of Port Royal on the morning of the 31st of January. As we stood in, we passed the monitor iron-clad Passaic, in tow of a gunboat, going down to Warsaw sound to assist the monitor Montauk in her attack on a rebel battery.

It is not a matter of wonder that the first discoverers of this port and harbor were so struck with its magnificent proportions that they named it Port Royal; for in the eye of the mariner it is royal in every sense of the word. It is one of the finest harbors in the world, and the best on the southern Atlantic coast. The bar has a depth of water to float the largest vessel; while inside there opens a broad estuary, with capacity to contain the navies of the world, with a good anchorage. Two rivers, the Broad and Beaufort, pour down through it a large volume of fresh water to the sea, and furnish navigable highways a short distance into the interior. There are two headlands at the entrance which the enemy had strongly fortified at the opening of the rebellion—one on Hilton Head island,

called fort Walker, and the other across the harbor at Bay point, called fort Beauregard. They were strong earthworks, and mounted with heavy guns. In the fall of 1861, admiral Dupont made a brilliant attack on the forts, with the fleet under his command, which resulted in their capture and securing the possession of the harbor and the neighboring islands. The manner in which the admiral handled his ships gained great applause. The harbor was made the naval station for the South Atlantic Blockading Squadron, and was so continued to the close of the war. On this bay should have been built the commercial metropolis of the South, and it is cause of astonishment that its advantages have never been appreciated. A city may yet spring up somewhere on these waters that will absorb both Charleston and Savannah. The island of Saint Helena affords an admirable site for a great mart.

Soon after we dropped anchor, general Naglee went ashore to report our arrival to general Hunter, as regulations require. General Foster had not yet arrived, but was expected shortly. Mean while we could but await his coming. On our arrival, we learned the occasion of the firing we heard the night before, as we passed Charleston bar. It was caused by an attack made by a rebel iron-clad on our blockading fleet under cover of the darkness and fog. She was first discovered near the Mercedita, which she ran into with her ram, breaking two holes through the planking near the stern, one on each side, at the same time discharging her heavy guns into her. The captain struck his colors and surrendered; the crew was paroled, but the enemy had no time to secure the gunboat. The monster then made for the Keystone State, which had been alarmed by the firing, and was better prepared to receive her. Quite a severe fight took place between them. The iron-clad was able to approach very near before she was discovered, when she fired on the gunboat, nearly every shot taking effect. The latter fired nineteen shots in reply, which were heard to strike the armour of the ram with a loud, ringing noise. The approach of a sloop-of-war

caused the ram to haul off, otherwise the gunboat would have met the fate of the *Mercedita*.

The day of our arrival the *Keystone State* came down to Port Royal and anchored within a short distance of the *Cahawba*. In company with general Naglee I went on board to note the damage she had received in the encounter. She had been badly handled. Thirteen shot and shell went into, or through her, killing and wounding forty-two of the officers and crew. Some of the shot had been very destructive. One, after entering the side of the ship and passing through some of the heaviest deck timbers, passed through both boilers and let all the steam escape, which scalded a number of the crew. At this time the surgeon, with the assistance of the hospital steward, was amputating the limb of a sailor. They were all scalded to death. Several men were killed while asleep in their hammocks. The bursting shells had torn up considerable of the planking of the lower deck, and the beams and ceiling were spattered with blood and brains. One solid shot, for better employment, went into the armory, where it made almost as wild work as a bull in a crockery shop.

Hilton Head is the name of a coast island, the extreme eastern point of which is a headland that juts into the sea. The single house that stood on this headland before the war belonged to the Drayton family; the owner commanded the fort erected on it, while a brother commanded a vessel in the attacking squadron of admiral Dupont. When this point was made the headquarters of the Department, as well as the naval station of the blockading squadron, a large number of buildings to contain stores and materials for the army and navy was erected, which gave it the appearance of quite a considerable village. A long pier and wharf were built out into the harbor, alongside of which the largest ships could lie and discharge their cargoes. For convenience in repairing naval vessels, a machine shop was erected on Skull creek, that separates Bay point from Saint Helena island, across the harbor from the Head. Two

old whalers were moored to the shore, and fitted up with such machinery as was found necessary to repair iron and wooden vessels, where a large number of workmen were kept employed. All the injuries received by the monitors during the protracted siege of Charleston were repaired here. Otherwise it would have been necessary to have taken them to a northern navy yard, which could only have been done at much trouble and expense, with the risk of losing them at sea. The constant presence of more or less men-of-war in the harbor, and a number of troop-ships, and vessels transporting supplies, gave the waters an animated and lively appearance. The morning of our arrival a valuable prize to one of our blockading squadron off Savannah was brought in and anchored near us. She was an English screw steamer, called the *Princess Royal*. She had been fitted out as a regular blockade-runner. She was laden with gunpowder and other munitions of war, besides three propellers and armor for iron-clads, and machinery for steel-pointing shot. She was a valuable prize, and her freight would have been most welcome to the rebel navy department.

Our steamer, the *Cahawba*, remained anchored in Port Royal harbor until Monday afternoon. On Sunday evening I received an order to steam up to Beaufort, ten miles from the Head, to take in a supply of coal and water. We did not leave until late the next day, and reached Beaufort about sundown. The river flows among islands, on the left washing Lady's and Saint Helena. We passed but few buildings, and saw little evidence of cultivation. A few miles below Beaufort we passed the camp of the 1st South Carolina volunteers, a negro regiment being organized by colonel Thomas W. Higginson, under the auspices of general Saxton. These African defenders of our national honor were lounging about camp and shore, clad in their blue dress coats and scarlet breeches. Our men gazed at them with strange interest, as it was the first time they had ever seen negroes equipped as soldiers.

This sight carried me back to an earlier period in the history of



the war, when arming the negroes to make soldiers of them dared not be talked about aloud. The first official person connected with the administration of the government who broached this policy was the honorable Simon Cameron, then Secretary of War, but neither the cabinet nor President at that time dared avow it publicly. One evening, the last of December, 1861, or the beginning of January, 1862, I was a guest at the house of colonel Forney, in Washington city, on the occasion of a complimentary supper to George D. Prentice, editor of the *Louisville Journal*. At the supper table, in response to a toast, Mr. Cameron made a few remarks, in which he took ground in favor of arming the negro and putting them into the field as soldiers. This idea, at that time, met with no favor, and there is no better way to judge of this than the fact that the reporter was requested not to mention it in his notice of the occasion. In what was said in the newspapers about the entertainment, there was not a word in reference to the Secretary's project of arming the negroes. I have a distinct recollection of the effect it had upon the company. It produced a chilling sensation upon the festive scene, and was received with a feeling akin to disgust. The mind of the most radical was not prepared for such a change in our military system. It required some time to educate them up to this point.

The men were disembarked and went into camp the next morning at the edge of the town, while the ship was cleared and the supply of water and coal was taken on board. They spent the time in camp, washing their clothes and cleaning up generally. The water was received from a condenser the quartermaster's department had put up on shore, near the wharf; and no sooner was the steamer made fast than the hose from the condenser was carried on board and the water run into the casks. It was condensed from the salt river water and ran through the hose almost burning hot to cool in the casks. It was worked by steam, and about five thousand gallons were manufactured every twenty-four hours. It re-

quired two days and two nights to take in our supply of coal and water, in which time we had shipped one hundred tons of the former and twelve thousand gallons of the latter. The troops were again taken on board Wednesday afternoon, and the next morning we steamed down to Port Royal harbor and came to anchor abreast of Saint Helena island.

I found Beaufort a beautiful town even under the adverse circumstances of war. It was considered the Newport of the South, and families of wealth resorted to it from the main land of South Carolina, and from the adjoining States, to spend the summer months. It was the seat of elegance, refinement and hospitality. The town is laid out with regularity; the streets of good width; generally crossing each other at right angles, and shaded with magnificent live oaks and other ornamental trees. The houses are mostly frame, with grounds attached planted with orange and lemon trees, and flowers and shrubbery which, in their dilapidation, gave evidence of having been tastily laid out and ornamented. The "Green," of several acres, was shaded with live oaks that are venerable enough in appearance to have sheltered the first European who landed there. The town had been but little injured by military occupation.

The sound of admiral Dupont's guns at Hilton Head gave great alarm to the inhabitants of Beaufort. Its fall was wholly unexpected, for they had been led to believe that the forts were impregnable. Therefore, when they learned they had been taken, they were panic-stricken, and fled the place in dismay. Their departure was hurried. They did not take time to pack up, but left everything standing. The needle-work was found lying on the table where it was thrown when the alarm first sounded; dresses and other articles of wardrobe in closet and drawer; silver plate and elegant china in the side-board, and books on their shelves. Every appliance of domestic and social life was abandoned. The stampede was greater than the route of an army. They hastened across the island to Port Royal

ferry, where they crossed over to the main land, and were safe for over three years—until the conquering legions of Sherman came thundering down from the mountains to the sea, and from hence through the Carolinas to the late confederate capital. They left much plunder behind, the most valuable of which fell into the hands of the troops. The negroes commenced the pillage before the army arrived, and when it landed the victorious heroes were received by wenches dressed in silks and satins that had adorned the beautiful forms of Carolina's fairest daughters. The plunder was not all obtained by soldiers, but officers received a fair share. Their conduct in this particular was disgraceful, and should have cost the offending ones their commissions. Some of them sent north pianos, elegant furniture, silver-ware, books, pictures, &c., to adorn their New England dwellings. Most of the troops that formed the Dupont—Sherman expedition were from that section of the country. Beaufort was a garrison town the rest of the war, and the point where the general hospitals of the department were located. It is said to be one of the healthiest spots on the southern coast. I was agreeably surprised to meet, at this place, captain Ingham Coryell, of Lambertville, New Jersey, but now assistant quartermaster, and an old friend. He was on duty at Hilton Head, but resided with his family at Beaufort. The town is situated on Port Royal island, one of the chain that extends almost the whole distance from Matanzas to Key West, and in South Carolina and Georgia produce the celebrated "Sea Island Cotton," so valuable in commerce.

The victory at Port Royal harbor created great consternation throughout the neighboring regions of the South, and both Charleston and Savannah were ready to fall into the hands of the victorious admiral and general. When the news reached the latter city the inhabitants began to pack up and leave, expecting to hear the sound of our guns every moment. Savannah would then have fallen without a contest. The two commanders wished to advance against it, but from some unknown cause were refused permission, and time





BRIGADE HEAD-QUARTERS, ST. HELENA ISLAND, S. C.

was given the enemy to place that whole coast in a good state of defence. One of the most powerful fleets we had ever fitted out, and a well appointed army, were compelled to lie idle in the sand for months, almost within sight of the enemy which was building works we assaulted in vain the coming year.

When we arrived at Port Royal I found there was no secret made of our destination. It was Charleston. It was talked about publicly by every body, and of course the enemy soon learned all about it. The iron-clads were already assembling in the harbor, and an immense amount of war-like stores was being collected. The admiral, or somebody else, that was to play a leading part in the drama, was not ready, and the promised delay of only a few days when we arrived was prolonged into seven weeks before the expedition sailed. This necessitated the landing of the troops until the authorities were ready to commence operations. The place selected for the encampments was the island of Saint Helena, sixteen miles in length and from one to three in width. The location was exceedingly healthy. The soil is of a light sandy nature, but of a marvellous richness. A singular feature was the entire absence of stones. A large portion was covered with pine timber. It is divided into about eighty plantations averaging some three hundred acres each when the war began, but the owners fled and left them in possession of the negroes. I was told that this land will yield as high as three hundred pounds of cotton per acre, which brought over two dollars per pound during the war. As was the case on the other islands, these plantations were in the hands of Uncle Sam, and through the management of a resident agent the old fellow was doing his best to become a farmer.

My brigade landed on the 11th of February, after a confinement of about four weeks on transports. The steamer was anchored within half a mile of the shore, and the men went off in a scow and small boats, and only reached the hard beach after wading some distance in the mud and water leg deep. The baggage and stores



were taken ashore in the same manner. It was a tedious and laborious operation. We were all day landing the two regiments and baggage and stores from the *Cahawba*.

At night the men lay down to sleep beside their arms, which were stacked in line of battle, being too much fatigued to pitch tents, if they could have done so. In the morning locations were assigned the different regiments, which went to work with energy to put things in shape. The camps were pitched on an old cotton plantation, then well grown up in bushes and scrub oaks. In many places they formed a dense jungle. But the free use of the axe and grubbing hoe soon cleared the ground, and before night the camps were all up and in tolerable order. The location was healthy and pleasant, and close to the shore of the wide-spreading bay. Water was obtained by digging wells a few feet into the sand, which were tubed with empty flour barrels to prevent the sand falling into them. The troops appeared as much delighted to get on shore again as a flock of eager children to escape from an irksome school. The camps in order, a drill ground, several acres in extent, and large enough to manœuvre the whole brigade, was cleared up. The tents were raised, on a frame work of poles a foot from the ground. After the camps were pitched, the men devoted a couple of days to washing their clothes and cleaning arms and equipments, and on Sunday following the surgeons inspected their respective regiments. In the army one learns to have faith in the saying of Jeremy Taylor, that cleanliness is next to godliness. Down to this time the regiment lost but two men by death since leaving Gloucester point. Private George W. Marlin, company C, died on board the *Cahawba* in Port Royal harbor the 7th of February, and William Maulsbury, company A, in hospital at Beaufort on the 12th. The regiment was unusually healthy. The strength was six hundred, and the number reported on the sick list the first day of February was eleven, and nine on the last day of the month.

Our detachment of the 18th corps which came down from North



Carolina, and was known as the "Expeditionary Forces," remained encamped on Saint Helena until the expedition was ready to sail for the attack on Charleston, the first week in April. The intervening time was spent in drilling, disciplining and otherwise putting the troops in the best possible condition for the undertaking.

As though there were not other sufficient causes to delay operations, the apple of discord was eaten by the generals, and the harmony of things broken for a time. The contemplated attack upon Charleston was arranged in Washington, in December, between generals Hunter and Foster, with the approbation of the President. General Foster was to go down early in the new year to Port Royal with as many troops as he could spare from his department, and as soon after as they could get ready, he and general Hunter were to make a combined land and naval attack upon Charleston. They separated without reducing any thing to writing, each one understanding that he was to have command of the land forces. When they came to operate together, neither was willing to give up to the other. General Hunter was the ranking officer, and had the advantage. This, no doubt, was the origin of the difficulty that took place.

When the expedition sailed from Morehead city, general Foster was not able to leave, but remained to complete some official business in North Carolina. General Naglee was in the immediate command of the forces brought down. We had not been long encamped on the island when general Hunter issued an order incorporating Foster's 18th Army corps troops with the 10th corps and breaking up our distinctive organization. At the same time our transportation, which embraced nearly all that belonged to the department of North Carolina, was ordered to be turned over to the chief quartermaster at Hilton Head. Naglee, who was always ready for a fight, with pen or sword, took up the cudgels for his absent chief, and much time was consumed in correspondence that had better been spent in forwarding the expedition. The fight waxed ex-

ceedingly warm, and both parties appealed to headquarters. Naglee got a little the start of Hunter. His messenger took the steamer for Morehead city and thence by rail to New Berne, where he reported to general Foster, who hastened to Washington city. He was not willing that the flower of his troops should be turned over to another commander. Assistant adjutant-general Townsend was sent down to Hilton Head to arrange the matter between the conflicting generals. The result was, that the order of general Hunter was revoked, and our forces were permitted to remain part of the 18th corps.

This was a triumph for Foster and Naglee, and so it was considered on all sides. In the mean time the good feeling between the two corps had not been improved by general Hunter, who placed the staff officers of general Foster under arrest, and subsequently ordered them to leave the department. The old sore was re-opened at a later period, when a spicy correspondence took place between Naglee and Hunter, which resulted in the former being sent to New York, with orders to report from there to the adjutant-general of the army. This is a sample of the quarrels which interfered with the efficacy of the army during the war. In this case the service lost one of its most gallant officers, without cause. He was the life and soul of the expedition, active and energetic, and had the entire confidence of the troops. On the contrary, general Hunter was disliked, and neither officers nor men had the least confidence in his abilities.

This shabby treatment of general Naglee incensed his command to a high degree, but there was no outward expression given to their feelings. On the eve of the general's departure his command paid him the respect due to him. He sailed on the 11th of March. On the morning of the 9th the commissioned officers of the old brigade he commanded on the Peninsula waited on him in a body, accompanied by the band. He received them on the steamer at the wharf, where he quartered. An address was pre-

sented him, expressing confidence in his gallantry and patriotism, regretting his departure, and tendering him the personal and professional respects of the officers and men. He replied in eloquent terms. The occasion was enlivened by several patriotic tunes by the band. That afternoon the officers of Heckman's brigade paid their respects to him, and in the evening he was serenaded by the fine band and glee club of the 10th Connecticut. The next morning the officers of Ferry's division called on him and paid their respects. General Ferry, the next in rank, was placed in command of the troops.

On the 2d of March the 104th was thoroughly inspected by captain Lambert, an officer of the English army, but now serving on the staff of general Hunter, as acting inspector general. Nothing escaped his attention, not even a bottle of "B" that stood in the tent of the regimental commander. His report was highly complimentary. Soon after we landed on the island some of the New England troops committed an unwarrantable assault on the negro families living near their camps. Their shanties were burned down and the inmates much abused. On the 6th of March general Hunter issued an order conscripting all the negroes in the department, between the ages of eighteen and fifty years, into the military service, except such as were already in the employ of the government, and the servants of officers. This raised quite an excitement among the contraband population of the islands, who did not understand that the gift of freedom carried with it the condition of military service. At this time two negro regiments were being raised in the department, Montgomery's and Bennett's, and the order was the means of recruiting a few hundred men for them.

Occasionally we heard from the two monitor batteries, Montauk and Passaic, which had been down in the Ogechee several weeks, and of late had tried their hand against fort McAlister, a strong earth work. In the duel between them and the fort their power of resistance was demonstrated to be nearly perfect, as the enemy's

projectiles made no visible impression upon them beyond slight indentations in their armor. The Montauk was hit seventy times. On board the Passaic the crew sat down to their meals under heavy fire, a disregard for shot and shell hitherto unknown in naval warfare. A shell exploded on the deck of one of them and made a cup-like indentation, in which a piece of the projectile remained and spun round several minutes by the force of its own momentum. At the same time the iron clads were watching the steamer Nashville, a famous blockade runner, which was loaded with cotton and ready to put to sea. One dark night she attempted to run out the Savannah river, when the Montauk fired a fifteen-inch shell into her, which blew her up. She went down with all her cargo on board. The object of the iron-clads in attacking fort McAlister was more to try their batteries than any expectation of reducing it.

The preparations for the sailing of the expedition progressed but slowly. From time to time a new iron-clad made its appearance in the harbor until they numbered eight, besides the Ironsides, which we found there on our arrival. The latter had gone up to the Charleston bar to strengthen the blockade immediately after the rebel ram had attacked our wooden vessels. To accustom the troops to land with facility from the transports, they were practised in it for two weeks in the harbor, each regiment taking its turn. They disembarked from steamers in surf-boats and landed upon the island. In smooth water the operation was not a difficult one; but when the wind was strong and a heavy swell came into the harbor and broke upon the beach, it was both difficult and dangerous. Upon two occasions general Hunter reviewed the troops encamped on Saint Helena, the first time in February and then again in March. The command turned out in fine order, and both looked and manœuvred well. The 10th corps was encamped on the neighboring islands or occupying forts down the coast. While we lay there I believe there was but one attack from the enemy

within the department. About the 20th of March a small party attacked the signal station on Hilton Head island, capturing the officer and some of the guard. Toward the close of the month sutler Jenks returned to the regiment, and re-opened his establishment in camp after an absence of nearly three months.

## CHAPTER XV.

Religious revival in regiment.—Baptism.—Regiment paid.—Amount of money sent home.—Lieutenant McCoy returned.—Deaths and discharges.—Expedition to Charleston organized.—Troops embark and sail.—Place of rendezvous.—Troops land on Folly Island.—Iron-clads attack Sumter.—They retire.—Injury done them.—Expedition returns.—Sail to Beaufort.—Poetry on the iron-clads.

ONE of the most interesting events that took place while we remained on Saint Helena island was the religious revival in the regiment, in March. It had been the practice with the chaplain to hold daily religious exercises for the benefit of those who saw proper to attend. After we landed on the island the number of his hearers increased, and a new interest appeared to be awakened. The first person baptized was private Benjamin S. Bennett, company K, on the 15th instant. The following Sunday there were nine more baptized, three of whom were from the 52d regiment. The congregation this morning was unusually large and the services interesting, the brigade band being present and playing church music. A chancel was improvised near regimental headquarters, while a drum, covered with one of the battle-torn flags, answered the purpose of a communion table. The Lord's Supper was administered to twenty-two communicants, all privates but one. The meetings were well attended through the coming week, and the interest was still on the increase. Several additional candidates for baptism were announced for the next Sunday, the 29th, but the weather was so stormy that the meeting could not be held in the morning, and

was postponed until evening. It was still wet and unpleasant, but the attendance was very large. The congregation numbered at least six hundred soldiers, from all the adjoining camps. There were likewise several officers present. After an appropriate discourse eighteen candidates came forward and received the rites of baptism, and thirteen others were baptized on profession before they entered the service. The effect was beneficial; it lessened the packs of cards in daily use and reduced the number of oaths.

About this time the regiment was paid for the months of November, December, January and February. The 104th never took advantage of the allotment system established by act of Congress, and only to a limited extent made use of Adam's express in sending money home. As a general thing the chaplain was the financial agent of the men, and carried home and distributed their money to their families. He deposited the money in the Philadelphia, Reading and Doylestown banks, on which he drew checks in favor of the parties to receive it. These were given to the soldiers to be forwarded by letter, and by the time they arrived the chaplain had placed the money in bank to be drawn against. The system was a convenient one, worked well, and to my knowledge there was never a dollar's loss. The chaplain provided the blank checks and revenue stamps, and the men paid him enough to cover these expenses. The amount sent home on this occasion by the regiment was \$25,819, distributed among the companies as follows: company A, \$1,836; B, \$2,844; C, \$3,321; D, \$2,620; E, \$2,844; F, \$2,848; G, \$2,046; H, \$1,996; I, \$1,585; K, \$2,557, and the field and staff, \$1,730. A portion of this amount was sent by express and letter. The men averaged nearly \$40 each, a very creditable remittance. We were abundantly supplied with good rations while on Saint Helena—fresh beef three days in every ten, and nice fresh bread was received daily from the government bakery at Beaufort. Andrew Enders, of company E, had been detailed as one of the bakers there. After the regiment was paid off the members of



company G did a most commendable act. One of their number, John A. Daniels, lost an arm at Fair Oaks which, in a great measure, disabled him from labor. The company, learning that his family was in a destitute condition, raised thirty-eight dollars for them, which outside friends increased to forty-four. After an absence of three months lieutenant McCoy rejoined the regiment on the 30th of March. His absence was caused by sickness. Several enlisted men returned about the same time, having been absent from sickness or other cause. Among these was James Dungan, company C, who refused a discharge tendered him in the hospital at Yorktown, believing there was yet a little more service in him for the country. He was afterwards discharged during the siege of Charleston.

The regiment maintained its healthy condition at this period.— During the month of March the average number on the sick list, per diem, was a fraction over twelve, which is a very good showing in an aggregate of 548. In point of health no regiment in the department was equal to it. On the 18th Clement C. Whipple, sergeant major, was discharged because of disability, and sergeant Julius B. Tyson, of company C, was appointed in his stead. After the March payment the members of companies C and K, presented their respective captains with a handsome sash and sword, as a token of their good will and esteem. Since the regiment first arrived in South Carolina, now only two months, the commanding officer had received notification of the death and discharge of forty-one men. With few exceptions they occurred at a distance, and seventeen of the number took place at Davis's island hospital, New York.

As the month of March wore away there were indications that the time was not distant when the long expected expedition would sail. One by one the iron-clads quietly left the harbor and proceeded to Stono inlet where the naval force, as well as a portion of the land forces, was to rendezvous. On the 23rd, the 100th regiment was de-

tached from my brigade and sent up to take possession of Cole's island, at the mouth of Stono river. This was done to make the place of rendezvous secure. On the 30th inst., general Hunter issued a confidential circular to the respective commanders, which designated the troops for the expedition and their organization. They consisted of three divisions of infantry, a brigade of artillery, a light battery and a battalion of engineers. The whole numbered over sixteen thousand men. An immense quantity of material of all kinds had been provided to be taken along. All the naval vessels that could be spared from the blockade and other duty were to take part in the enterprise, although the iron-clads were principally relied upon to batter Sumter's walls about the enemy's ears.

The troops embarked in the order they were named in the circular, which made our division, Heckman's, the last to go on board. On the morning of April 3rd, I was ordered to cook four days' rations for my command, and be prepared to embark at a moment's notice. In the afternoon the vessels were designated on which we were to embark, viz: steamer Cahawba, for the 104th, 11th, and Provost guard; barque Milton, for the 52nd, and the propeller, George C. Collins, for the Independent battalion. Our strength was 1980. The steam propeller United States was designated as the flag ship of the division. A signal officer was assigned to the head quarters of each brigade commander, and lieutenant Pierce, 5th Massachusetts, reported to me for duty. We commenced embarking that evening, and the Independent battalion was on board before midnight. The balance of the brigade embarked the next day. By evening the whole division was on board, and the vessels hauled out and anchored in the stream. Ten days' rations in bulk were put on each vessel. I received sealed orders at dark from a staff officer, but there was no necessity for this pretended secrecy, for the destination of the expedition was well known to every body. The division was ordered to sail for North Edisto, where the troops were to remain on board the transports and await further orders.

The vessels were to keep together, but in case of separation, each one was to steer for the place of rendezvous. The latter part of March general Stephenson had been sent up to the North Edisto with the 24th Massachusetts, 10th Connecticut and 56th New York, which landed on Seabrook's island, and secured the bridge which leads across to John's island. The time fixed for the sailing of Heckman's division was 7 o'clock on the morning of the 5th of April.

The proposed attack on Charleston had been well advertised. No expedition of the war had been more talked and written about, in advance. Editors and newspaper correspondents had done their best to give publicity to all the arrangements, and if the enemy did not have full knowledge of what was going on, it was not their fault. The number of iron-clads, with the caliber of their guns, and the number and size of the wooden war vessels, were as accurately set forth as though the records of the department had been inspected with this object in view. The whole thing was made public in the most approved American manner. Of course the enemy knew just what they had to expect, and during the month we were preparing for the attack, they had been laboring to strengthen their position.

We sailed the morning of the 5th as soon after daylight as the anchors could be hove up, following the lead of the flag ship, with the union jack at the fore, the signal to get under weigh. The bark Milton was taken in tow by the propeller City of Bath. We made the Edisto bar at 1 o'clock, and run in on a flood tide and anchored before sundown. On the way up we passed the Errisson having in tow two torpedo catchers, familiarly called "devils," intended to be fastened to the bows of the Monitors to prevent them being blown up by the torpedoes, which it was feared the enemy might send down against them. In the harbor we found a number of vessels, principally loaded with supplies, and a few sutler schooners. There were also two gun boats and as many mortar schooners for the protection of the transports. All the other transports, iron-

clad and gun boats had gone to the mouth of Stono inlet, where the final preparations for the attack were to be made.

The harbor of Edisto is about twenty miles from Charleston, by land, and is where the British army landed to attack that city in the Revolutionary war. The neighboring islands contain valuable plantations, and in plain view were several handsome dwellings, long since deserted by the inhabitants. Brookville, about two miles distant, had the appearance of a pretty village, with large buildings and well-kept shrubbery. Cole's island, where the 100th New York regiment had landed two weeks before, and where they had thrown up some slight defences, was situated at the confluence of the Stono and Folly rivers; and was separated from James' island by a marsh, traversed by a causeway. This position was taken up because it was necessary to hold it to secure the harbor of Stono, and Folly island, in case the latter should be made the base for operations against Charleston. Captain Payne, heretofore mentioned in this volume, made several reconnoissances among the neighboring islands and gained much valuable information.

On the evening of the 5th colonel Howell's brigade, consisting of the 100th New York, 85th Pennsylvania, 39th Illinois, and the 62d Ohio, was landed on the south end of Folly. Under cover of the darkness the troops felt their way up the island, with skirmishers in front, through jungle and bushes almost thick enough to stop the passage of a rabbit. Three regiments halted at the point where the lookout was afterward erected, but the 100th New York went forward to the head of the island, then covered with a dense thicket. Not an enemy was to be seen. These troops were joined in a day or two by the 67th Ohio, but none others were disembarked during the present operations.

Mean while the preparations for attack having been completed on board the iron-clad fleet at the Stono, the vessels ran out, each one being towed by a wooden gunboat. The New Ironsides was then on the blockade and joined the monitors off Charleston bar.

In point of strength this was the mightiest Armada the sea had ever borne upon its surface, and these few mailed ships could have vanquished in combat the proudest wooden navy the world had ever seen. They crossed the bar on Monday, and anchored safely inside. Tuesday forenoon the iron-clads ran in and opened the bombardment, the wooden gunboats keeping out of reach of the enemy's shot. The Ironsides anchored at the distance of a thousand yards from Sumter, but the monitors within about six hundred yards. The enemy was fully prepared, and replied immediately. The firing, while it lasted, was of the most terrific kind, probably never equalled in the annals of naval warfare. The iron-clads had to stand a concentrated fire from forts Sumter, Moultrie, Gregg, Johnson and Bee, and every other battery that could bring a gun to bear. The rim of the harbor was literally bristling with cannon. The shot and shell fairly made the water foam and boil around these pigmy vessels. They stood this hammering about two hours, when, being signalled to withdraw, they retired to their anchorage below.

The damage done to the iron-clads, except the Keokuk, was not serious. The latter was pierced through and through, both in hull and turret, by steel-pointed bolts, and sunk at her anchorage abreast of Morris island the next morning. The vessels fired about a hundred shots, most of them at Sumter. The fire from Moultrie was the severest. In going in, one of the iron-clads struck a torpedo, which did no damage. They were principally damaged in the smokestacks, which were riddled like a sieve. The turrets were struck a number of times, and indentations left in the iron plating about the size and depth of an ordinary saucer. A few bolts were started, and heads knocked off which wounded a few of the men. The breaking of the bolts is said to have been caused by their being screwed up too tightly.

There has been considerable speculation as to the amount of damage done to Sumter during the bombardment. Some of the naval officers are confident they saw large breaches in the walls,

which was confirmed by rebel deserters who came in a day or two afterward. Captain Eddy, of the 47th New York, was captured in Ossabaw sound a few days before, and at the time was a prisoner in Charleston jail. He formerly resided there, and had many friends in the city. They told him that a breach was made in the wall that a horse and wagon could be driven through. He saw six hundred bushels of lime coming down the railroad as he was on his way up to Columbia, which he was told was to be used to repair the damage done to the fort. He was also told by a leading secessionist of Charleston, that the artillerists in the fort mutinied during the bombardment, and that soldiers from the Charleston battalion stood over them with fixed bayonets to make them work their guns. His informant was a gentleman of respectability, and the captain believes he told the truth. The enemy denied this; but whether true or false, can now be easily determined by an inspection of the fort itself. That it was very severely handled we have evidence from themselves. On the 26th of April, nineteen days after the bombardment, one F. H. Harleston, who was on duty in Sumter at the time, wrote a letter to lieutenant James Thurston, of the rebel marine corps, stationed at Savannah. It was cut from a newspaper found on board the ram Atlanta after her capture. He says:

“There was no breach made in the fort at all. Two of their shots—a fifteen inch shell and an eleven inch shot, did come through, but they hit in weak places. The greatest penetration in good sound masonry was three feet; but then every thing around was cracked and started more or less. The most severe blow, I think, was about three or four feet below the crest of the parapet, where two or three balls struck, and just loosened every thing clear through for a space of about six feet in length.”

I was told by captain Rogers, executive officer of admiral Dupont, that when the iron-clads were signalled to retire it was not the admiral's intention to abandon the attack. He intended to renew it in the morning. It had become too late to attempt to run



the rebel forts and batteries that night, which he contemplated doing the next day. He and the admiral stood on the deck of the Ironsides as the iron-clads came down, and inquired of each one the amount of damage she had sustained. The Keokuk answered that she had been riddled through and through—the 15 inch gun of one was disabled—the rifle gun of another was injured, and the turret of a third would not revolve. This condition of things induced him to abandon the contest. The vessels might have run past the batteries but for the obstructions, but in this event would have been in a worse situation than before. Captain Rogers remarked that an attempt had been made to take Charleston by machinery, but it would be found that it could only be taken in the old-fashioned way, by a regular siege.

The withdrawal of the fleet from before Sumter was an abandonment of the famous attack which had been noised through the world for months. General Hunter would not permit the land forces to make a combined attack with the fleet. The army did not strike a blow or fire a shot. General Seymour, chief of artillery on Hunter's staff, was very anxious to make a night assault upon Morris island, which then was almost without fortifications and defenceless. His general plan was the same as that adopted and carried out in July by Gillmore. Under cover of darkness batteries were to be erected within less than a mile of Sumter. The time fixed upon was the night of the day the iron-clads made the attack. The troops were selected and organized and the consent of the commanding-general only was wanting to put it into operation. When Seymour went to consult general Hunter on the subject, he thought the attempt too hazardous, and it had to be abandoned much to the regret and disgust of the gallant projector of it. This attack must have succeeded, and it would have expedited the siege operations that afterward took place, by three months.

Heckman's division remained on the transports at Edisto, mortified that they had to remain inactive so far away from the scene



of the real operations. Of the bombardment we knew nothing at the time, except that occasionally we heard the sound of a heavy gun. On Wednesday evening a steamer arrived from off Charleston with an unsatisfactory account of it, but sufficient was known to determine the entire failure of the attack. The admirers of Hunter endeavored to fix the responsibility of the failure upon admiral Dupont, but in this they signally failed in face of the well-known facts of the case. He was charged with not co-operating with the army. The truth is the navy did all the fighting that was done, and the army did not lose a drop of blood in its bastard attempt on Charleston. The fifteen thousand well-disciplined troops sailed up and then sailed down again. The good old admiral risked all in the attack, and because he could not accomplish an impossibility he was relieved of his command. He did all the fighting that was done in that fleet.

The present operations were now entirely abandoned, and the fleet and army withdrawn, except the ordinary blockading vessels, and four regiments left on Folly island to keep watch and ward. The troops were generally distributed to their old stations. My brigade was sent to Beaufort, where it arrived and encamped on the 11th. All the North Carolina troops were retained in the department except Heckman's brigade, which was returned to New Berne, on an urgent request for re-enforcements. Our going to Beaufort was caused by a stampede the military authorities of that place got into on account of the rebels burning the armed steamer Washington. She had attempted to run round Port Royal island and got aground, when the enemy brought a light battery down within shelling distance, and burned her. This created so much alarm at the post that another brigade, in addition to the four regiments, and two batteries already stationed there, was required to quiet their fears.

After the bombardment of Sumter a wag, said to be an officer of the United States artillery, in a desire to hit off the Navy department, and the management of Uncle Gideon, Fox, Stimer & Co.,

perpetrated the following, which will be understood, if not appreciated, by officers of the navy generally. They are published as part of the history of the times, and not because they contain any intrinsic merit.

“BRAY-MORE,” OR THE WELLES-IAD.

AN EPIC IN TWO BOTTLES,

A long way after Ralph Waldo Emerson’s “Brahma.”

Lines from a manuscript picked up in

A Green-sealed Bottle,

Off Edisto Bar, South Carolina, May 14th, 1863.

(BOTTLE THE FIRST.)

If the Torpedoer’s torpedes

Knock the Torpedoed high in air,

Won’t *Unele Gideon*, as he reads,

Look solemn through his silvery hair!

Vague or forgot the navy seems

To *Gideon*, slumbrous in the dark,

Stroking his beard in happy dreams,

Or studying plans from Noah’s ark.

Vainly we labor hard and long

To paint the errors of the ships,

Entranced by *Stimer*’s syren song,

Gid’s judgment lieth in eclipse.

Rifles and smooth bores are the same,

He cares not for a turret jammed:—

Prompt to avert from Fox all blame,

He muttereth mildly—“That be — rammed.”

The strong men of the navy pine,

But pines not *Stimer*, and the crew

Of those who, (in the contract line,)

Proclaim “what iron-clads can do!”

We hoist our bottoms from the sea,  
 To show why slow and wild we steered,—  
 Coated with polyps dull as he,  
 And grasses lengthly as his beard;—

But this in him no terror breeds,  
 He muttereth:—"Spite of all the shocks,  
 Of storms, and battles, and torpedes  
 I must protect my darling Fox."

Though foul their bottoms as the heart  
 Of *Toucy* or *Fernando Wood*.—  
 Though plates are cracked and stanchions start  
 And every pilot-house runs blood;—

Although the pendent grasses drop  
 On rocks a dozen fathoms down;—  
 Though polyp and though oyster crop  
 Be large enough to feed a town;—

Though turrets jam and won't revolve,  
 Though guns kick off the track within,—  
 It still is *Gideon's* grim resolve  
 On *Stimer's* word his faith to pin:—

"And woe to him who, on his cuff  
 Weareth gold lace, or round his cap,  
 If, by expostulations rough,  
 He waketh *Gideon* from his nap!

Thus *Gideon* muttered, half awake,  
 Thinking the iron-clads a bore,—  
 Then turning, a fresh snooze to take,  
 Fox, entering, heard the Great Man snore!

*E Pluribus Unum.*

A BLUE JACKET.

## BOTTLE THE SECOND.

Picked up on Seabrook Island, same day.

Chorus by the American People.

We would that to your anchors tied

*Wells* were dropped down your wells—'Od rot him!

Or that his beard were tangled tight

In the long grasses on your bottom!

We wish that Fox,—who comes of those

With fire-brands swinging to their brushes,—

Had found his long and last repose

In the cold tide that 'neath you rushes!

We wish that *Stimer*,—who aspires

And doesn't mind to stick at trifles,—

Were used as fuel to your fires

Or blown from out your heaviest rifles!

“And last, we hope you'll not be slack,

(Now here's the moral of the ditty)—

Try Charleston in a new attack,

And sow with salt that cursed city!”

Them's my sentiments.

A BLUE BELLY.

The 104th was encamped on the village green at Beaufort, with shade and water convenient. It was a most delightful location. Soon after our arrival the regiment lost two of its officers, lieutenants Carver and Markley, who were given commissions, at their request, in the negro regiment being raised at that place by colonel Montgomery, of Kansas fame. The inducement was an increase of rank, both being made captains. A few weeks later captain W. W. Marple, of company C, was appointed lieutenant-colonel, and sergeant Ryan and corporal Perry, of that company, were made lieutenants in the same regiment. In the following October private

Elliott was discharged by order of the Secretary of War, to enable him to accept the appointment of sergeant-major in that organization. He was subsequently advanced to a lieutenancy.

The surgeon's report for April exhibited the same favorable sanitary condition of the regiment—the number daily excused from duty on account of sickness being only a fraction over two per cent. The smallest number on the sick list being one on the 12th, and the highest being twenty-two on the 3d instant. What troops can show a cleaner bill of health?

The beginning of May twenty-seven enlisted men were allowed to go home on furlough, under a recent act of Congress, which permitted five per cent. of the enlisted men to be furloughed at a time as "a reward of merit for good conduct in the line of duty." Married men were given the preference in the 104th. As there was not likely to be much doing for a few weeks, lieutenants Artman, Fretz, Cadwallader, Scarborough and Myers were granted leave of absence for thirty days, at the same time.

## CHAPTER XVI.

The 10th at Beaufort.—The camp.—Gideonites.—The Freedmen.—Fortifications built.—Montgomery's expedition.—Negro Praise Meeting.—Rebel ram Atlanta taken.—Visit to her.—Company A detached.—Attend a pic-nic.—In command of Post.—Pennsylvania militia go to Hilton Head.—Case of captain Schadd.—Hospitals at Beaufort.—Mrs. Lander.—Two regiments detached.

THE regiment was never more comfortable than while at Beaufort. As already mentioned, the camp was on the village green, and within a hundred yards of the river bank. The location was delightful and healthy. New tents were drawn soon after our arrival. They were raised a foot from the ground on a framework of poles to escape the dampness, and allow a free circulation of air under them. Each one contained two double bunks, to accommodate four men, and was provided with mosquito nets to keep away this troublesome insect. The men took great pains to ornament the camp and make it attractive, and they succeeded admirably. Over each row of tents an arbor was built to shield them from the sun. The edges of the company streets were sodded, which gave a refreshing green border on either side, and in front of the tents. Some companies erected a neat railing along the street, and laid brick walks up to the tent-door. Others enclosed a little yard in front of their respective tents, to separate their domain from their neighbors, and planted it with wild flowers, which they watered and

watched over with tender care. A number of cages suspended through the camp contained mocking-birds and other feathered songsters, which enlivened the scene with music, and claimed the attention of the men in their idle moments. During the day the walls of the tents were looped up throughout the whole encampment; which, with shade, ornamentation, music of birds, and evidence of comfort on every side, presented really a charming picture. No phase of a soldier's life could be more inviting. The neatness and taste displayed exhibited a sense of refinement that is highly creditable to the regiment.

Beaufort was the headquarters of the humanitarian side of the war, for the department of the South. It was the centre of the operations of the "Freedmen's Society," an institution organized in New England for the ostensible purpose of ameliorating the condition of the negroes. Schools were established on all the islands within our lines, where Yankee school marmes taught the young African idea how to shoot. While the men fought the master, the women tried to civilize the slave, and with but indifferent success. The institution brought a considerable number of civilians to the department, and the "wrinkled front of grim-visaged war" was smoothed by the presence of female society. The laborers in this vineyard were known as *Gideonites*, whose head and front was the Rev. Mr. French, who found that war paid him better than peace. He was a sort of king among the Gids, and had great influence at headquarters. Several of the female teachers deserted the band of Gideon for the arms of a husband, but their places were quickly filled by new candidates for the double honors of matrimony and philanthropy. General Saxton was nominally at the head of the organization, and sported the high-sounding title of civil and military governor of South Carolina. In spite of this "father," French was the moving spirit, and the negroes looked up to him as a second Moses. The deserted plantations were given to the *Gideonites*.



black and white, to work, which arrangement turned out more to the advantage of the latter than the former.

In the town the negroes were crowded together without regard to cleanliness, and but for stringent police regulations would have wallowed in their filth month in and month out. While it appeared evident that the greater part of the people who came into South Carolina to look after the interests of the poor negroes were but serving their own selfish ends, there were a few most estimable persons who only labored to improve the temporal and spiritual condition of the blacks. They were as easily distinguished from the other class, as goats are known from sheep. The real philanthropists did not make money by the operation; did not deal in furniture, pictures or souvenirs that belonged to the late inhabitants, nor persuade simple-minded darkies to give them pieces of old family plate on the pretence that it was a contribution to the Lord. They simply gave their time and their services to endeavor to make the negro wiser, better and happier. The negroes were petted and made much of, and the doctrine of social equality between the races was openly taught by theory and practice. The mentioning of two incidents will show the fruit this doctrine was bringing forth. A white man, who had formerly been a soldier in a Pennsylvania regiment, made love to a likely young negro wench in Beaufort, and married her with the approbation of the authorities. The knot was tied in the African church in presence of a large crowd of negroes and Gideonites, who smiled their approbation of the act. The lieutenant-colonel of the 1st South Carolina Volunteers, a white man, did not hesitate to walk about publicly with a black woman. Neither this circumstance, nor that of a white man marrying a negress, appeared to provoke any comment, as they were rather expected to follow the teachings of Gideon's band.

Although not engaged in active operations in the field the brigade, by no means, was permitted to enjoy a season of repose. The engineers, before our arrival, had laid out extensive work to command

the approach to the town on the side of the Port Royal ferry, which were only partially completed. My brigade was called on at once for details to carry on the work, and for a considerable time it furnished four hundred men daily, and that during some of the hottest weather of the season. Exposure to the heat while working in the sand, or other cause, brought on ophthalmia, which broke out in the regiment in June. There was a number of cases, but I believe it was entirely confined to those who had been prisoners of war the year before. The returned prisoners of war were mustered on the 10th of June for their commutation of rations while in the hands of the enemy. Of the whole number captured only fifty answered to their names, the other seventeen having died in captivity, died since their return, or been discharged. They were allowed commutation for one hundred and eight days. Jeremiah Matlack, company I, returned that very day, in time to be mustered. He was captured the 1st of July, 1862, between White Oak swamp and Malvern hill, and had been so long absent that his name had been dropped from the roll of his company.

The 1st of June colonel Montgomery, with his negro regiment, made a raid up the Cumbahee river on to the main land to get recruits. They embarked on two armed steamboats at Beaufort. So far as recruiting was concerned the expedition was quite a success. He brought back some eight hundred darkies of all ages and conditions, and of both sexes, about one hundred of whom were put into the regiment. They appeared to be much better fitted to hoe cotton than carry a musket. When they marched through the streets from the wharf they had more the appearance of walking rag-bags than human beings. There may be a difference between stealing negroes from their home on the Congo, in Africa, to hoe cotton and cane and stealing them from the Cumbahee in South Carolina, to compel them to perform an involuntary and disliked service, but many people are not able to see that difference.

Considerable damage was done to the enemy, but the good effect

of the raid was marred by wanton pillage. Some cotton and rice were destroyed, and several rice mills burned. They did not stop here. They burned thirty-four private dwellings, without a shadow of excuse. The families, mostly women and children, were summarily turned out of doors, and their homes destroyed before their eyes. Colonel Montgomery told the negroes that the country would belong to them after the war, and as they would have no use for the large houses they might burn them, but must not injure the cabins. What license to give to a parcel of half-civilized negroes! The operation was a disgrace to our arms. How often they were disgraced during the war by men higher in rank than colonel Montgomery, and the acts applauded instead of being censured and the guilty officer dismissed the service! War is bad enough even when its known rules are rigidly observed.

While stationed at Beaufort I was invited to go into the country to witness a negro praise meeting and wedding, on a warm Sunday morning in June. A ride of a few miles brought us to the place—a plantation that belonged to a clergyman of the name of Walker, who fled the island on the approach of our army. It was now occupied and worked by a Mr. Heacock from Montgomery county, Pennsylvania. The dwelling was an ordinary-looking frame, and the surroundings exhibited none of the thrift that we look for about northern dwellings. Several ladies and gentlemen were assembled, some from adjoining plantations and others from town. The religious services were held in the cotton house, conducted by a Mr. Conant, an ex-officer of a Maine regiment. They were simple and adapted to the capacity of the black hearers. A chapter was read in the Bible, followed by a few words of comment—then two or three prayers by negroes, hymns sung and the exercises were concluded. The congregation entered into the worship with great earnestness. Then the marriage took place. The bride was a plantation girl, and the groom a soldier of Montgomery's regiment. He

appeared much confused, and had some trouble disentangling his hands so as to give the right one to the bride.

The room was now cleared for the praise meeting, in which church-members only participate. They formed themselves in a circle around the room, all standing. Three men, seated on a bench at one side, now commenced a chant which increased in volume as they proceeded, when the worshippers began to move around the room, keeping hold of hands. They kept time to the music with their bodies and limbs and repeated the words of the refrain. Sometimes they moved backward—sometimes forward, and sometimes sideways, all the while wriggling and twisting their bodies into many attitudes, shuffling their feet to time, and beating the cadence with their hands. The music of the chant was wild, melancholy, and monotonous, but not entirely devoid of harmony. Sometimes the voices would swell into a loud and full chorus, then sink again almost to a whisper; but at no time did they reach the shouting pitch. The leader of the three singers changed the words and the tune at pleasure, apparently impromptu and without method. His hands were kept in lively motion and his actions reminded one of a darkie beating Juba. At one time the refrain had some application to boating, when the negroes as they swept round the room in measured cadence worked the arms as though pulling at the oar. The dances of some of our western Indian tribes is not unlike what I witnessed. It was evidently a heathen ceremony handed down from their African ancestors, somewhat modified by their Christian training. We now adjourned to the mansion where Mr. Heacock and his sisters had prepared refreshments for their guests. After dinner we had a pleasant chat in the shade of the piazza until the sun on the dial marked the hour of 4 o'clock, when lieutenant-colonel Hart and myself mounted our horses and rode back to Beaufort.

On the 17th of June we were cheered by the intelligence that the rebel ram Atlanta had been captured by one of our Monitors

off the mouth of Savannah river. Two of them had been watching her to prevent her coming out and running a muck along the coast among our blockading fleet. It is said that the captain notified his crew the day before that it was his intention to go out and hook on to one of the Yankee vessels and tow her up to the city.— This morning he came out to put his threat into execution, followed at a safe distance by two steamboats loaded with citizens, who desired to see the sport. He did nothing in the hooking on and towing up business. The ram had hardly got out the mouth of the river, when the Weehawken let fly a fifteen inch shell which carried away the pilot house and killed the pilot. This disconcerted the crew, but nevertheless she opened her ports and returned the fire. The contest was a short one, for at the eighteenth shot the Atlanta struck her flag and surrendered. She was really a formidable vessel, with a crew of one hundred and sixty-three men, and carried four heavy Brooke's guns. She had one man killed and sixteen wounded. One shot from the Weehawken, which struck her on the side, produced such a shock that forty persons were knocked prostrate. She was originally the iron steamer Fingal, built on the river Clyde, Scotland, but was converted into a ram at Savannah, at the expense of the ladies of Georgia. She turned out to be a magnificent failure when pitted against a Monitor. The two steamers with their passengers who had come down to witness a Confederate victory must have returned up the river very much chagrined. She was brought to Port Royal harbor the next day, and the officers and crew were transferred to the receiving ship Vermont. I went on board and examined her. She was in a most filthy condition, but not much damaged. She was afterwards purchased by the United States, refitted and put into the navy.

Lieutenant Bitting with fifteen men was sent over to Saint Helenaville, ten miles from Beaufort, on Saint Helena island, about the middle of the month. It was a point where persons could easily cross over from the main, and it was made his especial business



to see that there was no forbidden intercourse between the mainland and the island. About the same time company A was sent to a plantation, a few miles in the interior of the island of Port Royal, to relieve a company of the 55th Pennsylvania. Numerous small posts of this kind had to be maintained to stop contraband trade and prevent spies coming over from the enemy. It could not be prevented entirely, and we knew full well that all our movements were made known to him almost as soon as contemplated. It was always believed that most of the contraband information was carried by negroes. They were allowed to enter our lines any where, and knowing the whole labyrinth of water courses that surrounds the islands, it was an easy matter for them to slip back, in a canoe, unseen.

The young ladies living at one of the Barnwell plantations, a few miles from Beaufort, gave a pic-nic to their friends one fine summer afternoon, where I was invited to be a guest and help enjoy the fun. The spot was delightful. The dwelling was situated far within the embrace of the pine wood, and near one of the numerous water courses that divide the islands. Around it was the finest grove of venerable live oaks that I have ever seen. The place selected for dancing was under a natural arbor formed by the intervening branches overhead. It seemed to me more than passing strange that a man could be willing to relinquish such a home as this and join his fortunes to a rebellion against his government and country. Such men must have been earnest in their course and believed themselves in the right.

Upon two occasions I was placed in command of the post of Beaufort, which I retained until ordered to take part in the attack upon Charleston. At one time the garrison numbered six thousand men, infantry, cavalry and artillery. General Saxton was in command when general Gillmore came to the department, but he relinquished it on the ground that he outranked the former, and therefore declined a command under him. I relieved him at his own request. During this period, the 54th Massachusetts, colonel Shaw,

the first regiment of negroes that came South, reported to me.— They remained but a few days, when they accompanied colonel Montgomery on an expedition to Amelia island, Georgia. The time of the two Pennsylvania militia regiments was about expiring, and they were ordered down to Hilton Head, preparatory to being sent North to be mustered out of service. They had been manning the batteries in the defences of the post, and when they left their places were supplied by the 104th. Companies C and H, under captain W. W. Marple, were placed in battery Taylor, and company B, captain Kephart, in battery Brayton. The changes that were taking place in the garrison made necessary a new detail for provost guard, which was taken from the 104th, and placed in the command of lieutenant Duncan. The religious revival which had marked the stay of the regiment on the island of Saint Helena was not renewed to any considerable extent while we remained at Beaufort. The chaplain held his usual meetings for preaching and prayer, and a few members were added to his little flock. Six men were baptized from the regiment and one from the 52d. Besides his meetings in camp, Mr. Gries frequently preached in the Episcopal church, and nearly every Sabbath held service in one or another of the hospitals. About this period the resignation of captain Heany and lieutenants Artman, Haney, Croll, Yardley and Ashenfelter was accepted. Mr. Yardley, who had not rejoined us since he was taken sick on the Peninsula, was appointed provost marshal of the 5th Pennsylvania district, and Mr. Artman, while home on leave, applied for and was appointed a deputy under him. Doctors Brush and McAlear, two new assistant surgeons, joined us for duty at Beaufort. One was appointed to fill the vacancy caused by the promotion of assistant surgeon Cadwallader, and the other was appointed under a late act of Congress, which authorized an additional assistant to each regiment.

While I was in command of the post of Beaufort a somewhat peculiar case came before me, and which is mentioned merely to



show how subordinates are sometimes treated by their superiors.— In a regiment of Pennsylvania volunteer militia was a quiet, clever gentleman, who bore a captain's commission. As an officer he was attentive to his duties, and possessed as much military knowledge as was expected under the circumstances. Late in the winter his colonel got up a petition, which most of the officers of the regiment were induced to sign, asking general Hunter to dismiss the captain from the service, on the broad and not well defined charge of disloyalty. It was taken to the general, who thereupon, without any examination into the merits of the case, issued an order discharging him dishonorably, subject to the approval of the President. Thus disgraced he went home. Instead of pocketing the injury he went straightway to President Lincoln and laid his case before him. Without any hesitation the President restored to him his commission and directed him to report to general Hunter.

About the 1st of June he arrived at Hilton Head and reported to Hunter, who ordered him to go back to his regiment at Beaufort and report to the commanding officer of it. He did so. He stated the orders under which he returned, but the colonel declined to receive him and ordered him out of camp. He left and took refuge in the camp of the 174th regiment Pennsylvania militia. In a day or two his colonel sent an armed party over into the camp of the 174th, and by force arrested him, had him taken to the camp of his own regiment and placed in close confinement in a tent, with a sentinel at the door. When this was done general Saxton was post commander, but there was no authority from him which gave any sanction to this unwarrantable conduct.

When the matter was brought to my notice, as post commander, the captain had already been in confinement seven days. To get a full knowledge of the case I had both parties brought before me, and on their statement and the orders of the President and general Hunter, I ordered the captain to be released, and restored him to

duty with his regiment. It appeared like a case that had merit in it. The only defence the colonel made was that the captain did not show him the written orders on which he returned, but he admitted that they were told to him. The captain was released on Saturday. The next morning the colonel went down to Hilton Head and made such statement to general Hunter as induced him to direct me to arrest the captain again and send him down to headquarters under guard. The order was covered by a sharp letter from adjutant general Smith, in which I was censured for my action in the premises. The unfortunate captain was re-arrested and sent down to general Hunter, accompanied by my own views of the case in reply. He was kept there two or three weeks and then restored to duty. It was a case of great hardship, and there was not a shadow of excuse for the treatment the captain received, unless malevolence and spite can excuse a bad act. This same colonel was one of those intensely loyal officers who was charged with making it his business to tamper with the mails that came to his regiment, and before newspapers were delivered to his officers and men, he satisfied himself that they contained such reading matter as would not damage their patriotism.

It has been mentioned elsewhere in these pages that Beaufort was the seat of the general hospitals of the department. They were several in number, and were maintained in as good order as any that could be found in the service. Skilful surgeons had charge of them, and the men were not only provided with the best nursing, but all other things necessary to their comfort. In some there was one or more female nurses. At one time Mrs. Lander, widow of the general of that name, who died in service in the winter of 1862, had charge of the corps of female nurses in the department. It was found, however, that male and female did not work in harmony in the wards of a military hospital, and after a time the whole management of the sick and wounded was left to the care of the sur-

geons and their male attendants. While at Beaufort two regiments had been detached from my brigade and sent elsewhere,—the 11th Maine, transferred to Fernandina, in Florida, and the Independent battalion sent to Saint Helena's island, where it was incorporated into a command organizing there.

## CHAPTER XVII.

Operations on Folly island begun.—Batteries erected.—General Gillmore arrives.—He visits the island.—His plan of campaign.—Batteries erected against Morris island.—Colonel Higginson's expedition.—We land on Folly island.—A ride round the island.—Assigned to Terry's division.—We land on James island.—A night alarm.—March up the island.—The enemy reported.—A reconnoissance to the front.

IN the mean time matters had not come to a stand-still on Folly island and vicinity. Operations against Charleston from that quarter had not been entirely abandoned. A force was still maintained there, so that the island could be used for this purpose, should it be deemed advisable. The five regiments named as having been left there when the attack was abandoned in April were still kept there, together with the one on Cole's island and Stephenson's brigade on Seabrook. This latter force distracted, somewhat, the attention of the enemy, who believed the attack, if any should be made, would come from this quarter. The force on Folly was increased by detachments of the 1st New York volunteer engineers, 1st United States, 3d Rhode Island, and 3d New York artillery. The command was given to general Vogdes.

Folly island is about seven miles long, and not over one wide in its broadest part. On the west it is separated from the marshes that stretch across to James island by the Folly river, a narrow, but deep stream. The eastern side is washed by the Atlantic Ocean.

Light-house inlet, about six hundred yards wide, separates it from Morris island. At this time, throughout nearly its whole extent, the island was covered with pine timber and impenetrable tangled under-brush. The jungles of India cannot be much more dense. I have never seen such a mass of briars and thorns any where else. There was not a road of any description, and the only way to pass from one end of the island to the other, was along the beach, which was not always practicable at high tides.

General Vogdes immediately set the troops to work to cut roads. The principal one traversed the dense interior from north to south, while other lateral roads ran across it, thus affording convenient and secret communication between its different parts. The island was thoroughly picketed in all directions. At the head overlooking the inlet and the adjacent shores of Morris island from the jungle they occupied, was a picket of ten men, under the immediate command of colonel Dandy, 100th New York. This party was increased by a detail from the marine artillery, with two Wiard guns. On the night of the 10th of April, a party of sixty men of the South Carolina artillery, under lieutenant-colonel Durgan, came through the marshes in boats and made an attack on this picket, mortally wounding one man and capturing another. It was a surprise. They retired almost immediately, and without discovering the two guns, which they might have taken.

At the south end of the island a strong battery was constructed, which commanded the approach down Stono river. A mile and a half above, at the Campbell house, on the Folly river, another battery was erected, whose guns pointed in the direction of Secessionville on James island. At Pawnee landing, a small redoubt for two light pieces was thrown up to command the approach by a creek that emptied into Folly river near there. A mile from the head of the island, where it is not more than two hundred and fifty yards wide, a strong intrenchment was thrown up across the neck, with a redoubt at each end.

This was the situation of things when general Gillmore, the new department commander, arrived. He reached Hilton Head the 12th of June, in the steamer *Beu Deford*, and immediately superseded general Hunter. There was great rejoicing at the change in commanders. We parted with one who was notoriously incompetent, a martinet without ability to excuse it. He was entirely void of feeling toward the enemy. In his stead we got a young, active man, a soldier of talent, and confessedly one of the best engineers in the service. We expected that his coming meant work, which we found to be the case. General Gillmore knew that we had retained a footing on Folly island since the attempt in April, and he hardly waited to have the command turned over to him, before he went up there to take a look at the situation of affairs. He traversed the island from one end to the other, and from the jungle at the north end he looked across to the sand hills of Morris. He saw every thing with the practised eye of a skilful engineer, and at a glance he decided where he would erect his batteries, and the use he would make of them. From where he stood Sumter was plainly in view, looming up, and no doubt he then doomed it to destruction, and foreshadowed it the heap of dust and mortar it afterward became.

His plan of campaign was immediately marked out. He determined to approach Charleston on the side of Folly and Morris islands, and took immediate steps to have operations begun. He gave orders to have strong batteries erected on the north end of Folly, under the thunder of whose guns he would throw his battalions across the inlet of the sea and seize the opposite sand hills. His intentions were communicated to general Vogdes, who was kept in command, with instructions to have the batteries erected. He asked Gillmore his opinion of the batteries he had already erected at the south end, feeling proud of them himself, to which the engineer replied that they were all very well and very nice, but were on the wrong end of the island. In the erection of the new batteries on

the head of the island, two important things were to be achieved—to construct formidable works within a few hundred yards of a watchful enemy, and to conceal it entirely from his knowledge. It was a difficult task to accomplish. One additional regiment, the 4th New Hampshire, was sent up to assist in the labor.

Work was commenced on the batteries the 15th of June. On the night of that day a thousand men, as guards and laborers, were sent up to the head of the island and began operations. Under the cover of the thick bushes and timber the work was continued day and night, the men being relieved from time to time. The enemy had a high tower at Secessionville, which enabled him to overlook the land and water for miles around, and the greatest care had to be used to prevent our works being discovered. Every thing that was needed in the erection of batteries was taken to the front at night, and neither men, teams nor material were permitted to pass up in day time. Part of the time the work was performed under heavy fire from the enemy's batteries on Morris island, which killed and wounded several men. While they had no knowledge of what we were at, it was suspected, and they opened fire on the head of the island to drive us away if we were doing any mischief there. No reply was made on our part, which probably disarmed suspicion. It was deemed of the first importance to secure the construction of the batteries. The official report states that at least two thousand rounds were fired, and no doubt our silence gave the enemy the impression that he had driven us from the island. The fire was continued through several days and nights, but the work went steadily on without interruption. About this time the English steamer Ruby, in an attempt to run the blockade, ran on shore on the bar that makes in opposite the head of the island. While the enemy was securing the cargo, his batteries opened a heavy fire to prevent our interfering, but although a sore temptation our fellows made no attempt.

By the 3d of July the batteries were essentially completed and



ready for use. In the period of twenty days there were placed in position twelve 10 inch and four 8 inch mortars; twelve 30 pounder, four 20 pounder and ten 10 pounder rifled Parrott's; and three 12 pounder Wiard guns, making in all forty-four guns and mortars. The batteries were all well embrazured and revetted, with magazines and splinter-proofs; and each gun and mortar was supplied with two hundred rounds of ammunition. So well had all our movements been concealed from the enemy, that down to the time of our opening fire he had not the slightest idea of the existence of our batteries. The engineering work was done under the immediate supervision of lieutenants Suter and Michie, by the New York volunteer engineers, while captain Mordecai, of the ordnance department, superintended mounting the guns and supplying them with ammunition. Colonel Dandy, 100th New York, was in command of the north end of the island while the works were being erected. When we consider the importance of these works, and the secrecy, dispatch, and circumstances under which they were erected, they reflect great credit on the parties engaged. During this period captain Payne, 100th New York, assisted by corporal Yocum, 62d Ohio, rendered very valuable services in collecting information as to the enemy's position, strength, &c. In a light boat they traversed the numerous creeks that run through the marshes, and even ventured into the immediate neighborhood of Sumter.

Mean while we remained in garrison at Beaufort, pursuing the dull routine of life that prevails at a post. We were waiting for Gillmore's batteries to open on the enemy, and hoping that some of us at least might have a hand in the active operations that were about to be inaugurated around Charleston. About the last of June general Gillmore and his chief of staff made a visit to Beaufort to inquire into the condition of things there. His inquiry was particularly directed to the number of troops that could be spared from the garrison to assist in the operations against Morris island. He was furnished with the desired information. During the inter-

view I made a formal request to be permitted to take an active part in the campaign about to open, in command of the brigade I had brought into the department. He gave me a promise that my wishes in the matter should be complied with, and a few days afterward I received a letter from colonel Turner, his chief of staff, saying that general Gillmore would send me orders shortly to embark for Folly island, and that as many of my old regiments would be returned to me, and as soon, as the service would permit.

As auxiliary to the attack on Morris island from the head of Folly, colonel Higginson, commanding the 1st South Carolina volunteers, negroes, planned and organized an expedition to destroy the bridge of the Savannah and Charleston railroad that crosses the Pon Pon river. The plan was to run up that stream from the South Edisto in armed steamers, land at a practicable point and by a short march attack the bridge, which had a small guard, and burn it before re-enforcements could arrive. The colonel had received considerable information about the situation of affairs in that region of country through contrabands which had been sent up there as spies. The plan appeared entirely practicable, and was submitted to general Gillmore. He approved and sanctioned it, leaving all the details to colonel Higginson. If successful, it would be of great service to the contemplated operations, and would in almost equal degree damage the enemy. The attempt was to be made about the time our batteries opened on Morris island, and if he succeeded in burning the bridge, it would prevent the enemy sending re-enforcements up to Charleston in time to be of service to him. His force consisted of about three hundred men, all negroes, and two guns belonging to captain Rockwell's Connecticut battery, and were conveyed in two armed steamboats. The attempt was made at the appointed time, but failed, with the loss of the two guns and a few men killed and wounded. There is no doubt that information had been conveyed to the enemy, for he was prepared to receive the

boats with artillery on the bank of the river and on the causeways leading down to it.

On Sunday night the 5th of July, I received an order to embark the next morning for Folly island with the 52d and the 104th regiments and report to general Seymour, in command. We were to move in light marching order, with ten days' rations and 100 rounds of reserved ammunition per man. The tents and heavy baggage were directed to be left behind in charge of a few men. Some general instructions were given about the disposition that should be made of the troops remaining at Beaufort to secure the safety of the island, and I was directed to turn the command over to the next in rank. General Saxton, however, had signified his willingness to accept the responsibilities of the post again, and accordingly the command was surrendered into his hands. The orders to move were embodied in a confidential note from colonel Turner. An order was immediately issued to the troops to hold themselves in readiness to embark at an early hour the morning of the 6th instant. The detached companies, some of them a considerable distance from town, were directed to report to their regiment at daylight. An arrangement had been made to have the troops paid on Monday, but an order from headquarters postponed all payments for the present; yet special permission was afterward given to pay the regiments before they embarked, in case it caused no delay. The paymaster was on the ground at sunrise the next morning, and by eight o'clock the work was completed. The 104th received pay for four months, down to the 30th of June, and permission was obtained for chaplain Gries to take the money home to the families of the men. He accompanied us to the Stone, whence he took the steamer for the North. General Gillmore was concentrating all the disposable force in the department on Folly island as rapidly as possible.

Transports, the steamers Boston and Delaware, arrived at Beaufort early on Monday morning, and the embarkation of the troops

commenced immediately. I was instructed to start at such time as would enable the boats to reach the Stono, disembark the regiments, and put to sea again before daylight. All the troops and materials that were landed were put on shore under cover of the darkness to conceal our movements from the enemy. We left the wharf at 3 o'clock, p. m., and ran up without accident, and before it was light enough for the enemy to distinguish what was going on, the men were ashore concealed by the bushes, and the steamers on their return to Port Royal. We marched three or four miles up the eastern beach and encamped among the sand hills, where the bushes were nearly thick enough to strip the hide from a rabbit. The stores and baggage were hauled up during the day. In obedience to orders I reported to general Seymour, who was quartered in the Campbell house on the opposite side of the island. About noon colonel Dandy called at my quarters, and politely offered to escort me over the island to show and explain the general situation of things. I accepted the invitation and accompanied him, although suffering from a burning fever. The ride was one of interest and gave me a good knowledge of the island and the defences. All the troops were encamped or bivouacked under shelter and cover of the timber and bushes which completely hid them from view. The works at the north end were of a very formidable character, and gave evidence of great labor. The gunners were ready at any moment to open on the enemy across the narrow inlet that separated the two combatants.

The 10th of July was fixed upon to open the campaign, by which time it was hoped all things would be in complete readiness. General Gillmore had determined to send a column to James' island, separated from Morris by two or three miles of marsh, and lying to the west of it, to make a demonstration on Charleston by way of Secessionville in conjunction with his attack on the South end of Morris island. This latter was to be the real point of attack, while the former was intended to be only a feint. This was made

openly in the hope of drawing off part of the garrison from Morris island. This expedition was placed under command of brigadier general Alfred H. Terry, afterward distinguished as the captor of fort Fisher. My brigade was to compose part of this column. The balance of the troops was the brigade of general Stephenson, to come up from North Edisto, and the 2nd South Carolina and the 54th Massachusetts, both negro regiments, under the command of colonel Montgomery. The whole column consisted of but seven regiments, and could not have numbered three thousand effective men.

General Terry came to my quarters on the afternoon of the 8th and exhibited the order assigning me to his command, and at the same time directed me to leave camp at 8 o'clock that evening, and march down to the south end of Folly, to embark for James' island. We were to go up the Stono river in steam boats under convoy of several gun boats. We reached the wharf about 11 o'clock, and found that none of the rest of the command had arrived, which compelled us to remain there all night. A gale was blowing, with some rain, and as there was no shelter to be had, the situation for an agreeable night was not very flattering. The troops lay down to sleep in the sand on the beach, a few favored ones being able to repose on the baggage that was lying about.

Stephenson and Montgomery arrived about noon on the 9th. With them came my 56th regiment, which had been stationed at Seabrook since April. Of the 52nd and 104th there were only seven companies each to embark, companies A, D and B, of the former, and A, F and C, of the latter, having gone on picket the day before and were not yet relieved. We embarked that afternoon. The baggage was left behind in the care of a guard. We were directed to run up the river to what was then known as Stevens' landing, where my command was to go ashore that night and seize and hold the causeway which led down to it. The balance of the troops were to land in the morning. The sun was pretty well down when we started, but the day-light lasted until we reached



our destination, for it was but two or three miles from the end of Folly island. Our convoy consisted of one monitor, three wooden gun boats and a mortar schooner. As we advanced they shelled the woods along James' island to drive away any parties of the enemy that might be lurking there to oppose our landing.

It was dark when we reached the landing, and the tide was pretty well down. Immediate arrangements were made to go ashore. This was a slow process, as there were only three boats that could be used for the purpose. It was disagreeable business. We were obliged to jump out of the boats into mud a foot deep and wade through it to the firm ground. Being dark we floundered into more mud holes than would have been necessary in the day time. But the officers and men took it in good humor, knowing there was no royal road to James' island. The first men ashore were thrown out as pickets on the roads leading down to the landing. The knapsacks were piled up together with a guard over them, and the companies were formed as fast as they came ashore.

The troops being all ashore the two regiments were formed for an advance, the 104th leading. Their effective strength was less than six hundred. The night was very dark, the localities entirely unknown, and we had not the most remote means of knowing what, if any, force the enemy had to oppose us. The present object was to seize and hold the bridge at the head of the causeway, for unless that was in our possession we could not advance into the interior of the island. The order to march was given, general Terry placing himself at the head of the column. We marched along the dyke built up through the marsh to the bridge, which we reached and seized without opposition. The column was halted a little way from it, and remained standing while the bridge was examined. Captain Groff, with his company, was detailed as pickets and sent across it. It was not our intention to advance beyond this point until we had day-light for our operations.

Captain Groff, while putting his men on duty, stirred up a rebel

picket, which fired a volley across the bridge toward our column. It came unexpectedly. The regiments were resting on their arms, and every thing being shrouded in darkness they could not comprehend the situation. At the time, I was standing on the bridge with general Terry, major Rogers and other officers, discussing the probability of the enemy being near us. At this moment he let us hear from him. The bullets whistled very close to the ear and cut short the conversation, though neither of us was hurt. They fell among the men, who supposing there was an attack, opened fire in the direction whence the shot came, and at least a hundred rifles were discharged before the firing could be stopped. The shots from our own men swept across the bridge also, and placed us between two fires. The reflection that we were in greater danger of being killed by our own men than by the enemy, was not a pleasant one. A bridge was never cleared in quicker time. The alarm was quieted almost as soon as it had arisen, and on examination we found nobody had been hurt, although two or three claimed to have been struck. It came near being a stampede. The troops were now placed in position for the night behind the embankment of the causeway and opposite the bridge, affording a safe protection to the men in front, the only direction whence an enemy could come. The general and staff now returned to the steamer.

The night passed away quietly, and in the morning no enemy was to be seen. As soon as it was light enough to discern objects I made arrangements to advance without waiting for orders from head-quarters. A party of skirmishers, consisting of parts of companies A, C and F, 104th, and captain Davis' company, 52d regiment, the whole under command of captain A. Marple, were sent in advance to clear the bush of sharpshooters, should any be lurking therein. The column followed them closely, keeping closed up and prepared for any emergency. There were a few cavalry pickets on the watch, who fell back before us and galloped away to give notice of our approach. Our skirmishers pushed them so closely



through the timber that they were obliged to abandon their ready-cooked breakfast of beef and rice. It had been cooked in an old iron pot, in which were sticking wooden paddles in lieu of spoons. The men picked up a few blankets and other articles which the cavalry had left behind in their hasty flight, but were afraid to appropriate the breakfast to satisfy their appetites. From the bridge our route lay through timber for a mile, with a creek on our right, and on our left was some open country, with the remains of the camps of the year before. We halted at the old house used for a signal tower in the former occupation of the island by our troops, the main body resting in the edge of the timber. Captain Harvey, with his company, was thrown forward and occupied the head of the main causeway which leads across the low, marshy ground toward Secessionville. He was supported by a small force in reserve, and pickets were stationed to watch the approaches. The island between these points and the place of landing was fairly in our possession.

General Terry landed and came upon the ground about noon. Just as he arrived word was sent in from the front that a body of infantry and cavalry was advancing down one of the causeways, apparently to attack us. Considering our force too weak, and our situation too much exposed to meet any considerable number of the enemy, I was directed to draw in my pickets and fall back toward the landing. He turned about and rode back to look after the troops which had not yet come up. Captain Kreutzer, my adjutant-general, remarked to me that the enemy ought to be reconnoitred before the ground was abandoned, and asked if he might ride after the general and get his permission to do so. I agreed to it, and he at once put spurs to his horse and overtook him a few hundred yards away. The general consented that the two regiments might be taken to the front and a reconnoissance made. We marched in the direction of the reported enemy, and when we reached the causeway found it had been a false alarm. A small

party of cavalry was found at an old house they had used as a signal station, but they all made their escape and rode for their lines toward Secessionville. We captured their signal rockets. We now returned to our bivouack in the edge of the timber, where we found the brigades of Stephenson and Montgomery, which had come up mean while. The 56th New York regiment now reported to me for duty. My pickets were relieved by the fresh troops.

## CHAPTER XVIII.



Attack of Morris heard on James' island.—Our situation.—The enemy attack us and are repulsed.—The gunboat Pawnee.—Unlooked for support on the right.—Strength of enemy.—Determine to withdraw.—Our evacuation.—Return to the Stono.—Visit Morris island.—Assault on Wagner.—Situation on Morris island.—Enemy's works.—Wagner.—Gillmore.—Plan of attack on Morris.—Enemy reconnoitre.

AT daylight on the morning of the 10th of July, the heavy cannonade at the head of Folly island announced that Gillmore had made the anticipated attack on Morris. We listened to the guns with great satisfaction, and longed to hear the result of the bombardment. Before night we received information that it had been an entire success, and that our troops were in undisputed possession of Morris island below the beacon house. The demonstration on James' island had answered the purpose intended. The enemy was deceived into the belief that ours was the main attack and withdrew some of his forces from Morris island to meet it; which so reduced the supports to their batteries that they fell an easy conquest to our troops after they were across the inlet.

Our stay on James' island was undetermined and was to be governed by circumstances, although the main purpose of our landing had already been accomplished. As long as we could hold James' and threaten the enemy's defences at Secessionville, it divided the forces required to defend fort Wagner and their other batteries on Morris island. Our stores were landed in the Stono and brought up, and

other necessary things done to make the troops comfortable and secure while we remained. Our force was encamped in three lines. Stephenson and Montgomery occupied the open fields, while my brigade was in the timber at right angles to them and retired behind their right flank. A strong picket line was established about a mile in front, extending nearly across the island. The gun-boats meanwhile had advanced a little way up the Stono, the Pawnee lying a short distance below Grimball's house, and just out of reach of the enemy's battery established there. She lay in a position to protect our left flank, and sweep the low ground across which an attacking force must march. A vigilant watch was maintained in all directions, as a considerable body of the enemy could be seen at Secessionville. When we left Folly island we had no light artillery with us, but a steamer was sent down to Beaufort which brought up captain Rockwell's Connecticut battery, which was landed and came into camp on the 14th instant. It was afterward found to be of the most essential service to us. The night of the 13th two spies were seen lurking within our lines to discover the location of our camps, and this and other causes gave us reason to apprehend an attack. There was an alarm the next day, but it proved to be a false one. From Cole's island there was a communication with James' at a point near our camp, by means of causeways and foot-bridges across the swamps, but now somewhat broken up. As an uninterrupted passage by this route might be very useful in time of danger, the engineers were set to work to repair it and make it practicable for infantry. It was done by the time we had occasion to use it. One bridge across the creek that runs along the eastern edge of the island, and near our camps was fifty feet long and strong enough for artillery or cavalry.

With the exception of an alarm now and then we were not seriously troubled until daylight the morning of the 16th instant. The enemy had placed his troops in position during the night of the

15th, hoping to take us by surprise and overwhelm us by the suddenness and strength of his attack. He brought down a light battery and stationed it within seven hundred yards of the Pawnee, supported by a considerable body of infantry. It was placed in a corner of a wood so that it could not be discovered until it opened fire. This was the right attack. He hoped to be able to cripple the Pawnee, which would enable him with his heavy force to turn our left and prevent us falling back to the river. On his left he massed a considerable force of infantry, cavalry and artillery close up to our picket lines.

Our camps were alarmed about the break of day by a heavy cannonade on our left, which we soon learned was directed at the Pawnee. At the same time there was a sharp rattle of musketry in front of our right, where the enemy's left came crushing through our picket line. This was our first intimation of the attack. The 54th Massachusetts, a negro regiment, was on picket, and against this the enemy hurled his force, which was compelled to give way, after a brave resistance, falling back to the main body followed by the enemy. The Pawnee was taken by surprise, and came near falling a victim. She was aground and could not move until the rising water lifted her from the mud. For nearly an hour she lay almost helpless with her broadside to shore, while the battery poured a terrible fire into her. But when she was able to swing round and bring her heavy battery to bear on the enemy, she made quick work of his 6 pounders. She compelled them to leave without ceremony, followed by the infantry. The Pawnee was struck fifty times in hull and rigging, but strange to relate she had but one man killed and three wounded.

While this active work was going on on our left, the column formed to attack our right was advancing against us. I was sleeping soundly at the foot of a large oak tree, when I was awakened in the gray of the morning by an orderly from general Terry, who

announced that our pickets had been driven in, and ordering my brigade to be got under arms immediately. As soon as awake, the noise of the battery firing into the Pawnee was the first thing to salute my ears. The whole command was under arms in a very few minutes, for it does not take old soldiers long to put themselves in an attitude of defence when their safety depends on their celerity of movement. The troops were formed in two lines: Stephenson's brigade and the 54th Massachusetts forming the first, and mine, with the 2d South Carolina, forming the second. The interval between the two lines was about a hundred yards. The artillery was on the right flank of the first line. Both flanks rested on timber with a few skirmishers in it, and were well protected.

The enemy advanced until within about six hundred yards of our front line, when he halted, unlimbered the artillery, and opened fire. He evidently expected to take us by surprise and find us asleep in camp, for the first few rounds from his guns were directed along and through the strip of timber where our tents were pitched. In a few minutes the mist lifted and revealed to him our two lines of infantry and the position of our guns, when the direction of the fire was changed. The 104th was on the right of the second line, and directly in range of the artillery. The shell flew over and about them in a storm. I ordered the men to lie down flat on the ground, which was never hugged by a more fraternal embrace, and thus many lives were saved. Our artillery opened about the same time as that of the enemy, and for an hour a hot fire was maintained on both sides, when the enemy, failing to accomplish his object, retired from the field. It took us but a moment to comprehend the situation of things on our left. How we listened to catch the deep-toned notes of the Pawnee's guns, and we longed as anxiously to hear them as did Wellington wish that night or Blucher were come. Presently we heard the voice of a 100-pounder Parrott, the sweetest sound, to us, that ever struck upon the ear, and we knew the day was

ours. This turn in the tide of affairs is what sent the column that attacked the right so suddenly from the field.

The enemy met resistance, and we received support, from a source least expected. The evening before, the armed transport John Adams came up into the creek on our right, after dark, without the knowledge of the enemy. Neither did we know that she had arrived. She was armed with a 30 pounder Parrott, and on board were lieutenant McCoy and commissary sergeant Halback, of the 104th, and a few negro servants who had been left behind on Folly island. She lay about opposite our right flank. When the firing commenced in the morning, McCoy and Halback seized rifles and rushed to the bows of the boat, but seeing nothing within their range they turned their attention to the 30 pounder Parrott. Halback, with the assistance of the negro servants, manned and fired the gun, while lieutenant McCoy passed up ammunition. They fired twelve or fifteen rounds into the enemy's left flank, keeping it up until the battle was over. The enemy retired about six, and the troops were dismissed in time for breakfast.

The enemy numbered about four thousand men, including one brigade of Jackson's old corps that came down from Richmond after we landed on the island. There were several regiments of Georgians and some North Carolinians. Our loss was about fifty, which was mainly sustained by the 54th Massachusetts, which met the first shock of the enemy. One of my mounted orderlies, a soldier of the 1st Massachusetts cavalry, was wounded, as well as his horse. The battery had two horses killed. A man of the 10th Connecticut complained of not feeling well, and asked to be permitted to go to the hospital. He received a wound there, of which he died. He was the only man in the regiment that was injured. The 104th had no loss. That of the enemy must have been considerable. Several dead bodies were found on the field; and we took six prisoners. A good many arms and accoutrements were left behind when they retired. In the pocket of a rebel soldier captured afterward on



Morris island, was found a memorandum of the loss in two North Carolina regiments in this action, which amounted to one hundred and twenty-five. Ambulances and stretchers came on the field and bore the enemy's dead away. General Gillmore afterward remarked in the presence of the writer, that we had punished the enemy much more severely than we had been aware of. His evident intention was to capture our whole force, and had he turned our left flank, his superior numbers might have enabled him to accomplish his purpose.

During the forenoon, and as soon as it was known that we had had an engagement with the enemy, general Gillmore sent over a staff officer to confer with general Terry on the most prudent course to be adopted. The situation was felt to be a critical one. Although we had repulsed the enemy that morning, we had good reason to believe that it would not be long before the attack would be renewed in greater force than before. Moreover, our mission had been accomplished, and at this time the army had no men to hazard in operations of either doubtful utility or success. The brigade commanders concurred in recommending a withdrawal from the island. During the afternoon an order was received from headquarters ordering the troops on James' island to be withdrawn and return to Folly. As soon as it was dark enough to conceal our operations, the movement began. To be successful, required both care and secrecy. The picket line was maintained with the same order as though we intended to remain. Steamboats had been directed to be at the landing at dark, at which time we commenced to haul down the baggage and stores. It was arranged to withdraw by two routes. The difficulty of embarking troops on boats on the Stono was so great that the larger portion of them were to march by the causeways and bridges across to Cole's island. The engineers had examined the route and pronounced it practicable for infantry. Trusted guides were selected from among those who had passed over the route.

The night was one of the darkest I ever saw, and the rain fell in unceasing torrents. Every thing combined to render it a period of gloomy uncertainty. My brigade was required to furnish a regiment for picket that night, and the 52d was detailed for this unpleasant duty. It fell to my lot to be field officer of the day. Nearly all the baggage had been hauled down to the wharf by one o'clock, and several of the regiments put *en route* across the marshes. At this hour I was ordered to ride to the front and draw in the pickets. They were in close proximity to the enemy. I was guided by the vivid flashes of lightning which accompanied the loud thunder and pouring rain, as I floundered into ditches and rode through briers and thorns. Several times I stopped, completely lost, and had to wait for a new lightning flash to direct me on my course. After considerable difficulty I found the line and ordered it withdrawn. Lieutenant-colonel Hoyt and major Conyngham were both on duty with the regiment, whom I found watching with their men in the bush, wet to the skin. They will call to mind how, when they came to look for their picket posts, some of them could not be found, and the men did not know the regiment had been withdrawn, until daylight informed them that they were alone. They reached the landing in time to embark with the rear guard.

I was directed to take the causeway route with the 104th, 56th, 10th Connecticut, 54th Massachusetts, and 2d South Carolina. The 56th was the last to move, and left the island about one o'clock on the morning of the 17th. As soon as the bridge that connected James' island with the causeway was crossed, it was destroyed to prevent pursuit. The march was exceedingly slow, difficult and unpleasant. The distance is not more than four miles, yet we were about as many hours traversing it. Except when on the narrow foot bridges we were most of the time in mud and water, and often knee deep. Without trusty guides we could never have followed the route in the night. It led across numerous water courses, deep, sluggish streams that separate the islands.

spanned by narrow and insecure bridges; passed broad swamps by dykes and causeways just wide enough for two men to march abreast, and as slippery as though they had just been smeared with a fresh coating of soft soap. At times it was impossible for the men to keep their footing, and a number of them slid off into the ditches, on either side filled with a filthy mixture of mud and water. The engineers brought up the rear and destroyed all the bridges.

This had been an old route to pass from James' island down to the mouth of the Stono, and with a little labor the engineers made it answer a very good purpose. We reached Cole's island a little after daylight, fatigued, wet and muddy, with all the "pomp and circumstance" of war completely knocked out of officers and men. A few such marches take the buckram out of soldiers. During the day the balance of our troops arrived down the Stono, with the baggage and artillery. General Gillmore afterward remarked to general Terry, while conversing on the subject, that the night of our withdrawal from James' island was to him the most anxious one in his military experience.

In the afternoon I accompanied general Terry over to Morris island to report for orders at headquarters. General Gillmore had his tent pitched close to the eastern beach, and the troops were collected about among the sand hills, without order or comfort. It was, to all intents and purposes, living out of doors, for they had neither tents nor other appliances of camps. We also called to pay our respects to generals Seymour and Strong. In the tent of the latter we were shown a large solid shot which had lit there the day before, having been thrown from Sumter. This was at a point not half a mile from the inlet. General Terry was ordered to move forward his whole division as rapidly as he could. It was taken up Folly river in boats to Pawnee landing, where the regiments were disembarked and marched thence to the head of the island. During that evening and the next day the brigades of Stephenson and

Montgomery were transferred to Morris island and reported to general Strong. When I reached the look-out, a mile from the head of the island, I was ordered to halt there and not move forward unless the order came from, or through, general Terry himself. This was on Saturday, the 18th, and the next day our camp equipage and baggage came up, when we went into camp. Terry was considerably nettled because four of his regiments had been taken from him and given to general Strong, and he was now absent to see Gillmore on the subject. In less than twelve hours, however, the fortunes of war reconciled all difficulty, imaginary or real, on this point, and placed general Terry in a better military position than he had ever been in before, and probably better than he had expected to occupy. That evening, the 18th, had been fixed upon for the second assault on Wagner—this time a night attack. I reached the old intrenchments about sundown, where I made my camp on the sea-side. Learning that the assault on Wagner would be made at dusk, I ascended the look-out in the hope of being able to distinguish something of it. It was too distant to hear the sound of artillery, and too dark when the movement began to distinguish any thing of it; but I could plainly see the flashes of the enemy's guns along the parapet of the fort, like a streak of fire. The musketry of the two parties appeared like a confused mingling of myriads of fire bugs, as they fly about in the darkness of the night. In less than an hour the flashes ceased, evidence that the struggle was over. Then we waited the arrival of intelligence from the front, and it was not long coming, for bad news quickly reaches those who do not want to hear it. Soon a rumor reached us that we had met with a bloody repulse and heavy loss, which was confirmed ere long by the arrival of general Terry. That was a gloomy night for the army before Charleston.

Morris island, the scene of the siege operations against the defences before Charleston, lies directly north of Folly, and is a narrow bed of sand on the west side of the outer harbor. The

length from Cumming's point to Light House inlet is about three miles, while the breadth varies from a few hundred yards to a hundred feet in its narrowest part. At a few points the highest tides sweep across it. A considerable ridge of sand hills runs along the beach, washed by the tidal waves, while on the opposite side it slopes off into salt marshes, more than two miles wide and intersected by numerous deep creeks, which separate it from James' island. When our army first landed the sand hills made the surface so uneven that there was difficulty in pitching tents, but during our occupancy the face of the island underwent great change.

To prevent an approach on Charleston in this direction the enemy had erected considerable fortifications on the island. The old work on Cumming's point, known as battery Gregg, and which was used in the reduction of fort Sumter in April, 1861, had been repaired and strengthened, and mounted with four 10 inch Columbiads and one 10 inch mortar. These guns pointed down the island and their shot and shell reached more than half the distance to the inlet. At the narrowest point of the island, where Vincent's creek approaches the sea, he had erected battery Wagner, a very strong work, on which were mounted seventeen guns and mortars, some of them of heavy caliber. The bomb proof would accommodate fourteen hundred men and so strongly built that neither shot nor shell could penetrate it. The work was flanked on the west by Vincent's creek and the marshes, and on the east by the sea, and had a wet ditch. It could only be approached in front along a narrow neck of land completely swept by its guns. In the rear it was protected by a simple musketry parapet. The guns of Gregg took it in reverse, and the batteries on Sullivan's and James islands in flank as well as in reverse. In addition to these the barbette guns of Sumter commanded battery Wagner, and not only could throw plunging shot into it but down the island a mile beyond. This condition of things served to render the battery a place of unusual strength, and when taken somewhat difficult to be held. A more

difficult problem than its reduction has seldom been presented to the engineer for solution. It has rarely occurred in military operations that a strong place has been besieged by regular approaches along a neck of land of less width than one half of the front of the work. The siege of Wagner differed from most others in the fact that the communication of both parties was open and unobstructed to the rear.

When general Gillmore had been selected to relieve general Hunter he was at the head of a division in Kentucky, and had recently gained a victory over the enemy at Somerset. The skill he displayed as an engineer in the reduction of fort Pulaski in the spring of 1862, recommended him as the proper person to command the proposed attack on the defences before Charleston. He was called to Washington and put in possession of the views of the government. The experience of the iron-clads in their attack upon Sumter the previous April rendered them a little timid of that renowned fortress, and it was desirable, if practicable, to have it placed *hors du combat* by operations on the land side. The navy department said to the general, if he could silence the barbette guns on the sea and channel faces of the fort, the iron-clads would be able to go into the inner harbor and finish the work. After listening patiently to the plan that was laid before him, and all the Administration had to say on the subject, he pledged himself to accomplish the following, if placed in command of the land operations, viz: to take and hold Morris island, reduce fort Wagner, and render Sumter powerless for offensive purposes. It was clearly understood that the navy was to finish whatever remained to be done in the capture of Charleston, after Gillmore had accomplished what he promised.

I have already narrated how and when general Gillmore arrived in the department, and the quietness and celerity with which he commenced operations; how he accumulated his forces on Folly island and erected powerful batteries almost within speaking distance of the enemy without his knowledge. It now becomes my



duty to relate how and when these batteries were opened upon Morris island, how it was assualted by the land forces, and what followed.

The attack was arranged for the morning of the 9th of July, but circumstances postponed it until the next day. The infantry attack was to be made in boats by the way of Folly river, which were to land on the south-west point of the island, which was protected by a heavy rifle-pit. The batteries were to shell the enemy some time before the landing of troops. For this purpose a large number of boats had been collected in the river near the Campbell house, twelve of which were from the navy, under the command of lieutenant McKensie of the Wabash. He left Charleston bar at 9 o'clock the night before in the tug Dandelion with the boats in tow, and arrived in the Stono before midnight. The troops selected were Strong's brigade, composed of the 3d New Hampshire, 6th and 7th Connecticut, 9th Maine, 76th Pennsylvania, four companies of 48th New York, and a battalion of sharpshooters. They embarked in the boats in the early part of evening. They started about 11 p. m., and under cover of the darkness pulled round into Light House inlet, and when day dawned they lay behind the point of the creek which comes down from Secessionville.

The enemy had imperfectly fortified the south end of Morris island, not supposing that we could make a serious attack from that quarter. There were no regular works, but batteries had been excavated in the sand hills in which single guns were mounted, four of which were from the old gunboat Isaac Smith. At the south-west point of the island and near what our troops called Oyster point there was digged a pretty formidable rifle-pit to protect the beach where a landing could be made. His force on the island was about fourteen hundred men. Down to the minute when our guns opened, the enemy was in profound ignorance of the contemplated attack, so well had all our operations been concealed. It was known that we had some troops on Folly island, which we had never at-



tempted to conceal, and that some slight works were being thrown up, but they did not dream that we had massed quite an army among the briers and thorns of that desolate island and constructed powerful batteries. A rebel officer who was captured on the morning of the 10th, told major Campbell of the 85th Pennsylvania, that they had a suspicion all was not right on Folly island for several days, and to satisfy themselves on the subject a reconnoitring party of three hundred were to land upon it that night. Two of their spies were on it the night before. They came ashore at Pawnee landing, and passed up through the then deserted camps as far as the look-out, and then returned to their own lines. They reported that they saw a number of tents, but no men, which confirmed them in the belief that we had but few troops on the island, and that the display of camps was a sham. At this time the troops were either on board the boats on their way to Light House inlet, or had marched up to the head of the island to support the batteries. A delay of twenty-four hours might have endangered the whole enterprise.

CHAPTER XIX.

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Batteries open on Morris island.—Troops land.—The enemy retreat.—Pursuit.—Wagner assaulted, and repulse.—Siege operations begun.—Guns in position.—Second assault.—Again repulsed.—Plan of operations modified.—The brigade on Folly.—Situation and importance of the island.—Breaching batteries against Sumter.—Their distance and weight of metal.—Swamp Angel.—Second parallel against Wagner opened.—Head quarters of trenches.

MEAN while the forty-five guns and mortars in position at the head of Folly island were ready to open on the unsuspecting enemy. The brush left in front of the batteries to conceal them from view was cut down and the embrasures opened on the night of the 9th, and the gunners stood by their guns waiting for the word to fire. General Seymour came into the batteries just as day was breaking, impatient for the bombardment to open. He pointed across to Morris island, and asked captain Strahn, of the 3d Rhode Island artillery, who had charge of the three 30 pounder Parrotts on the right, if he could see a certain gun mounted among the sand hills. The captain replied that he could not yet see it plain enough to take aim at it. The general then called to some engineer soldiers and directed them to shovel the sand away from before the embrasures. They sprang to the work with a will, but day broke so rapidly before they had finished he was afraid they would be discovered, and ordered the shovelling to stop, remarking, "it will never do to let them have the first shot." He then directed

the attention of captain Strahn to another gun, and receiving from him an affirmative reply to the question, "are you ready?" told him to "blaze away." In an instant the stillness of the morning was broken by the roar of artillery, and the siege of Charleston was fairly begun.

The batteries opened on the astonished rebels shortly after daylight. The reveillie had just sounded in their camps, and many officers and men were killed and wounded while attending roll call. About the same time five navy launches, with howitzers on board, in charge of lieutenant commander Bunce, executive officer of the Pawnee, moved up from Folly river and opened on their rifle-pits. They were followed by the boats containing the troops, which came out into the inlet and formed in line with the left resting toward Black island. While resting on their oars and waiting for the word to advance, the enemy's sharp-shooters opened on the boats and wounded one man who died soon afterward. He then turned some of his heavy guns on the howitzer boats and disabled all but one. General Strong now gave orders for the boats to advance and the men to land. It was now about half past six o'clock. The boats were immediately pulled to the shore as rapidly as possible and beached. The men jumped out and formed line instantly, and with a yell dashed into the enemy's rifle-pits, which were taken without much opposition. The 6th Connecticut pulled a little to the right and landed about where the wharf was afterward built.

General Strong was much excited at the scene, and cried out at the top of his voice, "See the rebels run." In his haste to get on shore he stepped overboard in seven feet of water. The enemy routed from the rifle-pits and batteries at the south end of the island, it was a race between him and our men among the sand hills up to the Beacon house, more than a mile. Some one caught a rebel horse for general Strong, which he mounted, without a saddle, and barefooted, and thus led the troops to the front. When they reached the Beacon house they came within range of the guns of Wag-

ner, and a halt was ordered. A captured gun was turned upon the fort at once, but without any effect. The flags of the 6th Connecticut were placed on the Beacon house, but they drew the fire of the enemy and were soon shot down. They were replaced by those of another regiment. The iron-clads crossed the Charleston bar about daylight, and after our troops had made a lodgement they moved up abreast of the island and rolled their ponderous shells across its surface to hasten the flight of the enemy. They had this effect.

The fire of our batteries continued two hours before the troops were landed, and was very destructive in its effect. The enemy was completely routed, leaving behind, in our hands, eight guns and two mortars, with their tents and camp equipage, and two hundred prisoners. The balance of the troops on Folly had been moved up to the head of the island and were in readiness to cross over in case their services should be needed. As soon as Strong's brigade had landed the boats were sent across the inlet and took over the 100th New York, 7th New Hampshire, and six companies of the 48th New York, which joined the advance at the Beacon house. It had been the original intention to follow up these operations with an immediate assault upon fort Wagner, but the men had become so much exhausted with the work of the morning, on account of the great heat, that it was impossible for them to proceed further. It could probably have been taken on the 10th without much loss, but the attack was postponed until the next day. The troops bivouacked among the sand hills and threw up some light defensive works against an assault by the enemy.

The assault was made on Wagner the next morning, the 11th, at daylight, and failed. The troops detailed for the occasion were the 76th Pennsylvania, 48th and 100th New York, 3d New Hampshire, 9th Maine, and the 6th and 7th Connecticut, composing the brigades of Seymour and Strong. The latter led the advance. The enemy expected the attack, and was prepared to give the column a warm reception. Additional preparations to repel the

assault had been made since yesterday. The guns of the fort swept every foot of ground our troops had to pass over, nevertheless they rushed on and reached the parapet, where they made a lodgement, but for want of proper support were obliged to retire, leaving many killed and wounded in the hands of the enemy. The attack being repulsed, the troops fell back to the Beacon house, where they began to intrench, and whence the siege operations which followed were carried on.

By the failure of this attack it was clearly seen that a siege, of greater or less duration, would have to be prosecuted against Wagner. The necessary preparations to begin the work were made at once. Engineering operations were commenced on the 13th. That night ground was broken near the Beacon house, and the work was pushed with such vigor, in spite of the enemy's shelling, that the first parallel was completed on the 17th, at the distance of thirteen hundred and fifty yards. The batteries at the head of Folly island were dismantled, and the guns and mortars taken over to Morris and mounted there. By the morning of the 18th we had the following pieces in position, viz:—Commencing on the right were four 3-inch ordnance rifles; next, six 10-pounder Parrotts; then, two 30-pounder Parrotts, with two or three 8-inch siege mortars, mounted on the left of the parallel. In what was known as the "Left Batteries," were four 20-pounder Parrott's, four 8-inch siege mortars, and two or three 30-pounder Parrott's. General Gillmore determined to try the effect of another assault, not having yet fairly tested the strength of Wagner. It was thought that a sudden attack, following a heavy bombardment, might be able to place the work in our possession. The time fixed for the assault was at twilight on the evening of the 18th of July. Re-enforcements to the extent of two small brigades, under Stephenson and Montgomery, which had just arrived from James' island, and were then lying at the head of Folly, were ordered over to Morris in the afternoon, to support or participate in the attack, as

might be required. The guns of the land batteries had kept up an uninterrupted fire from sunrise until sunset, firing with deliberation and accuracy. General Gillmore had arranged with admiral Dahlgren to have the navy join in the bombardment, and in consequence the iron-clads and wooden gunboats moved up and opened fire about noon, at the distance of a thousand or twelve hundred yards. By 4 p.m., the fort was silenced; the fire having become so hot that the enemy could not stand to his guns, and after that time not a man was seen about the works, nor a gun fired from it until the assault was made.

The troops selected to make the assault were the brigades of Seymour, Strong and Putnam, the whole being under the command of general Seymour. The brigade of general Stephenson was held in reserve. The troops moved up the beach about sundown, and advanced upon the work in deployed, regimental lines. It was not so dark but what the enemy could see them forming, and they were expecting the attack. He opened on them before they reached the Beacon home, at the distance of a mile, but the fire was not very destructive. As they approached the shot and shell were changed to grape and cannister and musketry, which mowed our men down by scores. The troops steadily advanced in spite of the intensity of the fire, cheered on by their officers. The fort appeared like a mound of fire. A portion of our men entered the ditch, mounted the parapet, and seized and held for a considerable length of time a part of the work near the salient, but for want of support was obliged to retire. Some of them reached that part of the parapet where they could fire down into the body of the work, and into the outlets of the bomb-proof. Here we have the old story, that somebody, whose duty it was to support the advance, failed to come up in time, and in consequence the hard-earned advantage was lost.

I have heard all the pros and cons of the question who was responsible for the failure to support the advance when the lodgement



was made upon the parapet, but it is impossible to arrive at the truth. Strong's brigade, as already mentioned, was leading, at the head of which was the 54th Massachusetts. It had arrived and reported to Strong that afternoon about six o'clock. He went to the bivouack in the sand and informed the men of the contemplated attack upon Wagner; that they had been assigned the post of honor. and asked if they were willing to lead the assault. They responded in the affirmative, and when the hour came to move up the beach they marched at the head of the column. The assault was a direct one, the situation of the work being such that there could be neither feint nor diversion. When the troops left the ditch for the parapet they were met by the bayonet and every other weapon that could be used to oppose their advance. The enemy was driven from the guns on the curtain, and many of them retired to the bomb-proof for security. I was afterwards told by a deserter that the garrison was in great alarm, and that the fort was on the point of being taken. Among our killed were colonels Putnam and Shaw who fell on the crest of the parapet. All our killed, many wounded, and a large number of prisoners, were left in the hands of the enemy. The total reported loss was fifteen hundred and seventeen. It was a dear defeat to us.

The failure of the assault caused a modification in the plans of general Gillmore. Had he obtained possession of Wagner by this means, the rest of the works on Morris island would have become untenable, and would have fallen by their own weight, without further bloodshed. This would have placed him within close range of Sumter, and greatly facilitated his operations against that renowned fortress. But in this his calculations failed. He was now convinced that Wagner was too strong to be taken by assault, and that it could only be reduced after a protracted siege. As the guns of Sumter would be a great annoyance to the men in the trenches, he determined to silence them before he proceeded with the operations against Wagner. This was contrary to the usual course in



military engineering, but the necessity of the occasion demanded that it should at least be attempted. The distance at which the breaching batteries were erected was unprecedented, and none but a bold and skilful engineer would have dared risk his reputation in the attempt. Beauregard, who commanded the defences of Charleston, assured his troops that Sumter could not be breached until after Wagner was reduced, but Gillmore believed differently, and set about doing it. How well he succeeded will be told in the following pages.

I took leave of my brigade, in the previous chapter, on the evening of the 18th of July, the day it had arrived from James' island, at the upper end of Folly. The regiments bivouacked in the timber, and passed a gloomy, unpleasant night. It rained in torrents, and the defeat at Wagner, the news of which reached us immediately afterward, fell with crushing weight upon officers and men. The casualties at the assault changed, somewhat, the relative situation of parties. Generals Seymour and Strong being both wounded and rendered unfit for duty, general Terry was placed in command of the troops on Morris island; while general Vogdes, who had command of Folly island, was ordered over to take command of Strong's brigade. This disposition left me the senior officer on Folly, and the next day, Sunday the 19th, I was placed in command of all the troops on the island. They consisted of the 52d and 104th Pennsylvania, the 47th, 56th, and Independent battalion, New York volunteers, and three light batteries, numbering in the aggregate about two thousand men.

Folly island lies immediately south of Morris, and partakes of the same general features, except that it was well timbered. It is seven miles long, and from a hundred yards to half a mile in width. Two-thirds of its western border is washed by a small river of the same name, while all beyond to James' island is a stretch of swamps and creeks, with a few inconsiderable islands of firm land. This being our base of supplies and operations, it was of the first importance

to render it entirely safe from the inroads of the enemy, and such disposition was made of the forces as was thought would best accomplish this end. Three regiments, of which the 104th was one, were encamped near the look-out, a mile from the head of the island, and strong pickets were maintained on Long and Black islands, which flanked Folly in the direction of Secessionville. Captain Marple, with his company, was stationed at Pawnee landing, the most important point along Folly river. A line of pickets was stationed all along the western side of the island, on which side alone was there any danger of attack. One regiment was placed at the north, and another at the south, end of the island, where there were several heavy guns in position. The force was kept busily employed day and night. In addition to their other duties, they supplied the troops on Morris island with fire-wood, and the engineers with all the timber required to construct batteries, magazines, stockades, fences, and for other purposes. The wood and timber were hauled in wagons two and three miles to the inlet, where it was loaded into scows and taken to the other side, and thence again placed in wagons and distributed to the points where it was required. This labor employed a large number of men and teams. For a week after the assault of the 18th, there was but little firing between the contending parties, but both were hard at work strengthening themselves for the coming struggle.

The engineers broke ground for the erection of breaching batteries against Sumter on the night of the 25th of July, and the work was pushed forward with the utmost vigor day and night. Nothing was allowed to interfere with this labor, neither the heat of an almost tropical sun, nor the shells and balls of a watchful and gallant enemy. The work was terribly exhausting to the men, and the duty of standing guard in the trenches was not much less so. These batteries occupied three positions, viz.: in the first and second parallels, and on the western edge of the island close to the marsh, and known in all the siege operations as the Left Batteries. Most

of the work was done under fire. At the first parallel was a naval battery manned by sailors from the fleet, and commanded by commander Foxhall A. Parker. It mounted two 200-pounder Parrotts, and two 84-pounder Whitworth guns. In addition, there were five 8-inch, and five 10-inch siege mortars, two 30-pounder Parrotts, and a Regua battery manned by soldiers. The distance of these batteries from Sumter was four thousand yards. In the second parallel were mounted two 200-pounder, and five 100-pounder Parrotts, in three batteries, named Brown, Rosecrans and Meade, at the distance of thirty-four hundred yards. The left batteries, forty-two hundred and thirty-five yards from Sumter, were four in number, Hays, Reno, Stevens and Strong, and mounted one 300-pounder, two 200-pounder, four 100-pounder, and four 20-pounder Parrotts. In rear of the first parallel, and near the Beacon house, were five 10-inch siege mortars. At various times all the breaching batteries were used against Sumter.

The most famous battery used by our forces in the operations before Charleston was that which has since become historie under the name of the "Swamp Angel." There was never a reality for the reputation it achieved except in the fact that shells from its guns were thrown a greater distance than ever before from a battery on a level, or nearly so, with the point of attack. It was determined early in the siege to build a battery out in the marsh between Morris and James' islands in the hope that shells from it could be thrown into Charleston. I believe the idea originated with colonel Serrell, commanding the New York Volunteer engineer regiment. The spot selected was about a mile from Morris, and south of a line running from our left batteries to the city, on the edge of a deep creek which made a good wet ditch. It was in the midst of the marsh and a pole could be run down sixteen feet before coming to bottom. It could only be reached by water along the winding creeks which led there, or on a foot bridge across the swamps.

Fortunately the enemy had not entirely destroyed the foot bridge that used to lead over to James island, which our engineers repaired, and built up anew out to the spot.

The active part of the work was assigned to a lieutenant of engineers, who, upon being shown the place where the battery was to be erected, said that the thing was impossible. The colonel replied that there was no such word as "impossible" in the matter and that the battery must be built where he had pointed out. To encourage the doubting lieutenant he was told he had permission to call for any thing that might be required for the work. The next day this officer made a requisition on the depot quartermaster for one hundred men eighteen feet high to wade through mud sixteen feet deep. After making the requisition he went to the surgeon of his regiment to inquire whether he could splice the eighteen feet men if they were furnished him. This piece of pleasantry cost the lieutenant his arrest which, however, did not last long, and the battery was constructed by men of ordinary stature.

It was built entirely of sand bags laid on a heavy foundation of timber sunk several feet into the mud. The bags were filled with sand on the island during the day, and taken round to the place in boats at night. I was told by general Gillmore that the sand bags alone, and by this is meant the material and making, cost the government five thousand dollars. The enemy judged we must be at some mischief so far out in the marsh, but could not divine what it was, for they did not imagine we would be rash enough to attempt to build a battery there. One bright morning they looked across the marshes and saw something that had grown since the last sun went down, which was soon discovered to be the far-famed "Swamp Angel." It was begun on the 4th, and finished on the 19th of August, which was rapid work considering the obstacles to be overcome. A 200 pounder Parrott was mounted in it, and great labor and exertion were required to get it into position. It was hauled on a sling cart through the deep sand from the inlet to a creek at

the edge of the swamp, where it was embarked on a raft of pine timber, and floated down to the battery at night and mounted. As soon as the enemy was satisfied what we were at, some of his batteries on James' island opened on it with shell, but did no damage. The distance from Charleston, in a straight line, was eighty-eight hundred yards, and for the projectile to reach its destination the gun had to be fired at an elevation of thirty-five degrees. Three shells filled with pieces of port-fire fell in the streets of Charleston; but the strain on the gun was so great that it burst at the thirty-fourth or thirty-fifth discharge. The "Greek Fire," so much talked about at the time, was a military myth, and had no other existence than in the fancy of newspaper correspondents. It was one of the grandest humbugs of the war. Several preparations were tried, but none of them would answer, and I believe in each instance the shells that were filled with them exploded soon after leaving the gun. Two mortars were afterward mounted in the battery and remained there through the winter. Sergeant Felter, company A, New York Volunteer Engineers, has the honor of suggesting the historic name this battery bears.

In the mean time the engineers were pushing the approaches toward Wagner, and labor on them was never slackened for a moment. The second parallel was opened on the night of the 23d of July, six hundred yards nearer the fort. Here was our strongest position, both offensive and defensive. Great labor was consumed on the works erected in this parallel, and the best skill of the engineers was brought into requisition. In addition to the heavy guns already mentioned as intended to be used against Sumter, there were also mounted here four 12-pounder howitzers, two 12-pounder Napoleons, two 30-pounder Parrotts, three Wierd steel guns, one boat howitzer, three Cohoon mortars, and a Requa battery. They make twenty-two pieces in all, which, with the breaching guns, show a greater weight of metal at one parallel than most modern sieges exhibit. Here was built a large store maga-

zine which contained a supply of powder for all the contiguous batteries. Adjoining it was a small splinter-proof, in which was an army telegraphic instrument, used to communicate with post and general headquarters. It was designated as headquarters of the trenches, and here the general and field officer on duty at the front during active operations took up their quarters.

A man was kept stationed on the top of the supply magazine to watch the firing of the enemy's batteries, and give warning when a shell was coming that way. When he pronounced the significant words, "Johnson"—"Cover," or "Simpkins"—"Cover," every officer and soldier within the sound of his voice made the best possible time to seek the shelter of the neighboring sand bags. One day a shell from James' island passed through the sand-bag roof of the headquarters of the trenches and exploded inside, kicking up a very unpleasant rumpus among the inmates, the instrument and other fixtures. Lieutenant Cross, the operator, was pitched out heels over head, and colonel Howell, 85th Pennsylvania, general officer of the day, was so badly stunned that he did not recover for several weeks. In entering the trenches to guard them at night, the details that went further to the front were distributed at the second parallel, and thence conducted, under guides, to their respective stations.

On the right of the parallel, as far out as low-water mark, was constructed what was known as the surf battery, in which was mounted two 12-pounder howitzers to sweep the beach. In immediate front was a line of frieze work, and between that and the batteries was an extensive wire entanglement to trip up assailants in the dark. Our works were well provided with appliances to prevent the enemy entering them in a sortie from Wagner. Firing between our own and the enemy's batteries was resumed on the 24th of July, and was continued almost without intermission until the siege was over. Casualties, day and night, were frequent. That night colonel Leggett, 10th Connecticut, lost his leg in the

trenches. The next night an enemy's shell exploded in the midst of a fatigue party mounting a two hundred pounder, and wounded twenty-one men. The second parallel was at the narrowest point of the island. About this time the enemy opened a new battery on James' island, which partially enfiladed our works and annoyed us considerably.



## CHAPTER XX.

Our batteries open on Sumter.—Projectiles fired.—Situation in the fort.—Situation on Folly island.—Brigade goes into the trenches.—Captain Payne taken.—Third parallel opened.—A sand ridge captured.—Fatal shot.—Wagner gradually approached.—Brigade encamp on Morris island.—The trenches.—Flag of truce.—Death of lieutenant colonel Purviance.—Death of Shaddinger.—The 104th goes into advanced trenches.—Boat infantry.—Officers sent home for recruits.

IT was important to have Sumter powerless for offensive purposes before the siege against Wagner could be prosecuted with success, and therefore the completion of the breaching batteries was hastened as rapidly as possible. Heavy details worked on them constantly, day and night, in spite of the heat and shells of the enemy. On the 12th of August the range of one of the 200 pounders in the left batteries was tried on the fort. The first shot was a successful one. The shell struck the parapet on the side toward the city and knocked down several cart loads of bricks, which fell on a steam boat lying at the wharf and crushed down the smoke stack. By the 16th all the guns were in position and ready to open except the 300 pounder. This was found to be a troublesome customer to get into its resting place. It had to be transported more than a mile from the dock, where it was landed, through deep sand and semi-marsh overflowed by the tide. The labor was immense, and its great weight broke down three sling carts before it reached the battery. It could only be worked at in the night to prevent being seen by the enemy, and during the day it was covered up by

a paulin or long grass. A chance shell might have disabled the monster. All the guns and mortars were mounted at night.

The batteries opened on Sumter on the 17th of August. At the same time the iron-clads moved up to take part in the bombardment. The monitors Patapsco and Passaic directed their fire on the fort, while the other vessels engaged Wagner to prevent her guns annoying our batteries. The fire of the land batteries was continued through the day without cessation, and by night the parapet presented a very battered appearance. The great holes in the wall made it look as though pitted by a strong attack of small pox. The firing was renewed every morning, from day to day, and ceased at sun-set until the close of the 23rd, when the fort for all offensive purposes was destroyed. All the barbette guns were dismounted and buried up in the debris. The gorge wall and sea face were so badly shattered that in many places the arches of the casemates were exposed. So far as could be observed, all the lines were destroyed, and what was once a beautiful fortress presented the appearance of a shapeless mass of brick and mortar. The enemy replied feebly and did but little damage. Occasionally our batteries opened on Sumter between the 23rd of August and the 1st of September, when the first bombardment may be said to have ceased.

During the period 6250 projectiles, of the following caliber, were fired at the fort, viz :

300 pound Parrott.	Solid shot 5.	Percussion shell	286.
200    "        "	"    697.	"        "	1108.
100    "        "	"    1463.	"        "	2691.
Total,		2165.	4085.

The bombardment was in plain view from my quarters, and I could see with the naked eye whenever a shell struck the walls, as it invariably threw up a cloud of dust. The sight was an interesting one, and the accuracy of the aim at such long range was remarka-

ble. From time to time the fleet assisted in the bombardment, but the men shut up in the iron-clads could only stand it a few hours at a time, when the vessels were compelled to retire. The fire of the land batteries was continuous, with reliefs for the guns. Some time afterward the correspondent of the *Mobile TRIBUNE* gave the following interesting account of the situation inside the fort during the last day's bombardment, when the Ironsides and monitors moved up to the attack, taken from the official report of the rebel inspector general. He says: "The Ironsides and seven monitors commenced a terrific bombardment. A fog protected them from the guns of Moultrie. Sumter having only two 10 inch and one 11 inch guns left in barbette could only fire an occasional shot to show life. For seven hours, at close range, the fleet hurled shot and shell into the work. Striking the wall near the parapet, loose bricks were thrown up in columns and fell in showers around the gunners and about the work. Walls were ploughed through, casemates were filled with sand, and the shells passed across the parade, striking the interior wall of the west magazine, containing powder enough to destroy fort and garrison. One shell struck the ventilator and exploded. It filled the magazine with smoke. Another more successful shot, and all would have been lost. It was an anxious moment, but the fort was held. Gradually the morning dawned. The fog lifted, and fort Moultrie opened fire on the ships. *Instead of continuing their fire at this critical period, the fleet withdrew and the danger was removed.* The object was now, in the unsafe condition of the fort, to get rid of the powder. *It depends on time, and the movements of the fleet. Had the fleet renewed the attack, the business might have been done. The fleet delayed!* Night after night the powder was moved in barrels, under the enemy's guns. Only 800 pounds were left; *the crisis was passed!* The fort was now safe from the explosion of the powder in its magazine." When the bombardment began there were a hundred and thirty-one thousand

pounds of powder in the magazine, which was removed and shipped to Charleston. The enemy was now allowed a resting spell of fifty days, in which time he constructed within the fort bomb-proofs of timber and sand that made it as strong as before for purposes of defence.

Mean while let us glance at the situation of things on Folly island. Two deserters came in on the 27th of July and reported that the enemy contemplated an attack on the south end of the island that night. To give the necessary directions to the troops in case an attack should be made, and to be sure that the pickets were vigilant, I rode round the entire island and visited every post after dark. It was an unpleasant ride of fifteen miles through bushes, across swamps, and in the sand. No attack was made. I was relieved of the command of the island on the 31st instant, by general Vogdes. This was occasioned by the anticipated arrival of considerable re-enforcements from the North, and as they were to be accompanied by several brigadiers it was necessary to have an officer higher in rank than a colonel in command on their arrival. One brigade landed the 1st of August, and others followed until the re-enforcements reached ten thousand men. Among them were two regiments of negroes, one from North Carolina, and the other from Massachusetts. The former regiment was commanded by a brother of Henry Ward Beecher. The white troops came from the army of the Potomac, and formed part of the 11th corps, which was badly cut up when surprised at Chancellorsville.

My brigade went into the trenches the night of the 3d of August for the first time, when it furnished a detail of four hundred and seventy-five men, under a field officer, for a twenty-four hours' tour on guard. On the night of the 5th it furnished another detail of four hundred and fifty men, of whom one hundred and fifty assisted the engineers in the erection of batteries. From this time forward while operations continued the brigade furnished heavy details for duty in the trenches for guard and fatigue, in addition to the large

amount of labor done on Folly island. There were periods when the same men went into the trenches two nights in succession. The heat was excessive, and but for the sea breeze they could not have endured it. The 104th did its full proportion of labor of all kinds, and shared all the dangers of the siege. The first casualty the regiment met in the trenches was on the night of the 12th of August, when Gotleib Hartfelder, of company D, was struck by a piece of shell on the inside of the leg just below the knee. The wound was not dangerous. Later in the siege this soldier was again wounded, and died a few days afterward. During the same tour of duty when Hartfelder was wounded the first time, a shell burst under Henry Halderman and Elias Keeler, of company C, which threw them up two or three feet, but without doing them any injury. The rifle of Halderman was struck by a splinter and bent into a semi-circle, and the stock shattered to pieces. Samuel Taylor's rifle at the same time was sticking in the ground, bayonet down, when the butt was struck by a piece of shell and broken off at the handle. There was some apprehension of a sortie on our works, the morning of the 13th, and in consequence the whole brigade was ordered over to Morris island the night before. The regiments crossed the inlet at 11 o'clock, p. m., and marched up the beach to near the Beacon house, where they stacked arms and remained until nearly noon, when they returned to Folly island. On the night of the 4th of August the army met quite a severe loss in the capture of captain Payne, 100th New York, who had become famous as a scout during the operations. While on a reconnoissance in a boat he was met by a superior force of the enemy at a place then known as Paynes' dock near where several creeks empty into the harbor of Charleston. He was wounded, and overpowered, and with some of his party, made prisoner. He was confined in the Columbia jail several months. He had charge of the boat scouts down to the time of his capture, and obtained much valuable information of the water approaches to the harbor.

The third parallel, at the distance of four hundred and fifty yards from Wagner, was opened by the flying sap on the night of the 9th of August. The work continued to be pushed forward as rapidly as possible, sometimes by the flying, and at others by the full sap, as the condition of things permitted. The fourth parallel was opened on the 22d at the distance of three hundred yards from the fort. A short distance in front of this was a sand ridge where the enemy's sharpshooters were stationed, who annoyed our men in the trenches considerably, and it became necessary to seize and hold it before the approaches could be carried forward beyond it. An assault was arranged for the night of the 26th, when the 24th Massachusetts, under colonel Osborn, made a dash at it with the bayonet, which was successful, and seventy odd prisoners were captured. When the alarm was sounded the enemy's guns opened a brisk fire, which killed and wounded a few of our men. Shovels were placed in the hands of the prisoners, who were compelled to dig to protect themselves from the fire of their own friends. This was an important point gained, and here the fifth parallel was opened the same night, within two hundred yards of Wagner. Mortars from the parallels in the rear were now moved forward and established here as soon as practicable. The next day the enemy made one of those fatal shots that occur now and then in military operations. The 85th Pennsylvania was on guard in the trenches, and as there had not been much firing during the day the men became a little careless. Towards evening, a mortar shell, fired from James' island, fell and exploded in a little area where nine soldiers were sitting. Seven were killed on the spot, and the two others were so badly wounded that they died in a short time. The parts of their body, clothing, equipments, and broken guns were scattered in all directions.

The fifth was the most advanced parallel. Beyond this point the approaches were simply zig-zags, making very sharp angles, as there was not sufficient front to develop a parallel. In this manner the



engineers continued to creep up to Wagner, until they crowned the counterscarp on the night of the 6th of September. The nearer they approached the fort, the more difficult and dangerous became the work. The enemy kept up an almost constant fire of shot and shell and small arms, and the low trenches afforded indifferent cover to the troops guarding them. The engineers and fatigue parties were almost entirely without protection. The enemy had planted the ground immediately in front of the fort with torpedoes, which increased the dangers of engineering operations. A number of them were dugged out and destroyed, while several exploded with fatal effect to our men. Their presence in such numbers, no doubt prevented the enemy making sorties to attempt to destroy our works and spike our guns.

On the evening of the 22d of August, I was ordered with my whole brigade to Morris island, with two days' cooked rations, for a tour of that length in the trenches. We crossed the inlet about midnight and, upon reporting at post headquarters for orders, were assigned a position for bivouac on the beach just below the Beacon house, where a trench had been thrown up as a slight protection against the shells from James' island. Here we stacked arms and lay in the sand and burning sun that night and the next day. In the afternoon I received the detail of general officer of the day, and major Rogers that of field officer of the trenches, and toward evening we went to the front to get a knowledge of the localities before going upon duty. While passing the hundred pound battery in the second parallel, we came near running against a shell thrown from James' island, which struck near enough to throw the black mud of the marsh into our faces and over our clothing. It was a warning that did not go unheeded, and afterward we kept well covered. The troops went upon duty just at dark. Entering the trenches at the first parallel, they passed along them by the flank to the extreme front, where the engineers were at work, men being sent into all the intermediate parallels and batteries as they went up. In

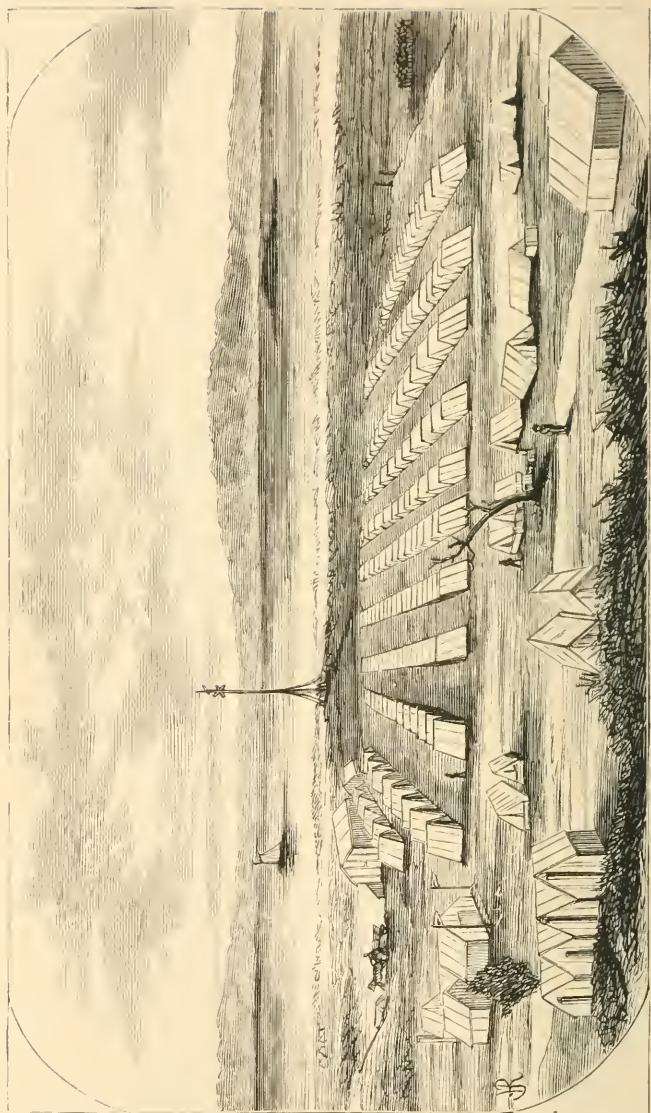


some places the trench was deep enough to afford protection when walking upright, while in other parts they had to stoop to get cover. Up to the second parallel there were splinter-proofs to protect the men from the fragments of bursting shells, but above that there was only the usual trench. Every few minutes a shell from James' island or Wagner, or the ball of a sharp-shooter, came in close proximity, when there would be an involuntary seeking of cover.

The officers and men lay in their trenches and slight splinter-proofs for twenty-four hours, when they were relieved by a new detail. The situation was most trying, to say nothing of the danger, and particularly so during the day, when they were obliged to lie close to avoid the sharp-shooters, with the sun pouring down upon them in burning rays. The 104th occupied the most advanced position, and consequently was more exposed than the other troops. We were fortunate not to have any casualties in the regiment, although there were several narrow escapes. A fragment of a shell covered the sergeant major with sand. While captain Kephart was lying asleep on his rubber blanket, it was struck by a piece of shell within a few inches of his head, and torn into several pieces. The captain was not injured. At noon on Sunday, lieutenant-colonel Hall, provost marshal general of the department, went inside the enemy's lines near Wagner, with a flag of truce, to receive the answer of Beauregard to general Gillmore's demand for the surrender of the city. He passed up the beach to near the fort, where the enemy had a small picket stationed. During the conference white flags were raised on both sides, which was a signal for the opposing parties to show themselves upon their works. The officer, a lieutenant, who received colonel Hall, said he was tired and disgusted with the war, and expressed the wish that we would make haste to take the fort. The brigade was relieved at dark on Sunday, when we returned to our bivouac on the beach, where we lay until Tuesday evening, when we returned to Folly island, having made a tour of duty of one hundred hours. Monday night was one of the stormi-

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CAMP OF THE ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTH, ON MORRIS ISLAND

est I ever experienced, and the officers and men lay about in the sand in pools of water. It was an occasion that tried the patience and endurance of soldiers, yet there was not a murmur of complaint. While we were there, the "Swamp Angel" threw the three shells into Charleston which created so much stir among the inhabitants, and caused so much indignation on the part of Beauregard. We could distinctly hear the bells ring, as though the fire department was called out.

On the 29th of August my brigade was transferred to Morris island to relieve that of general Ames, which returned to Folly. We reached the inlet at midnight, but not finding a boat there to take us across, we lay in the sand until morning and crossed over by daylight. When the baggage and camp equipage arrived, we went into camp on the eastern beach, about a mile from the inlet, and just below the look-out. That afternoon a battalion of the 104th was detailed as funeral escort for the remains of lieutenant-colonel Purviance, 85th Pennsylvania, who was killed in the trenches the night before by the premature explosion of a shell fired from one of our own guns. The body was taken to Hilton Head, and thence sent home for burial. On the night of the 31st the brigade sent seven hundred men into the trenches for the usual tour of twenty-four hours, of which the 104th furnished two hundred, with the proper number of officers. I was requested to furnish a detail of one lieutenant and forty men, who could at all times be relied upon for fatigue with the engineers in the advance trenches. They were taken from the 104th, and composed of volunteers from companies A and C, in equal numbers, and placed in charge of lieutenant Laughlin. The situation was one of great exposure and danger, and of those who were on this duty the night of the 31st, one was killed and six wounded, viz:—Shaddinger killed, Martindale, Naylor, Whitecraft, Swartly, Fryling and Horn wounded, all of company A. Of those on guard in the trenches three were wounded:—Jones, company D, McEwen, company F,

and Enochs, company II. Poor Shaddinger had been at work only a little while when he was killed. A shell from Wagner burst near the party, a small fragment of which struck him, passing through the body, killing him instantly. I saw him leave the second parallel to go to the front, and it seemed that he had hardly passed from my sight before he was brought back on a stretcher and laid down before me, dead, with a hole through his chest. He had assisted to floor my tent that morning, and my attention was more particularly called to him on this account. The wounds of the others were not of a dangerous character.

The next day the 104th was selected, in place of one of the chosen three regiments which had been doing that duty, to occupy the advance trenches. The evening of the 3d of September a part of the regiment was sent into them. The detail consisted of two hundred and fifty men, with the following commissioned officers, viz:—Captains Marple, Swartzlander and Kephart, and lieutenants Laughlin, Scarborough, Bitting, Duncan and Myers. The party was under command of captain Marple, the senior officer of the regiment present. This tour of duty was more than usually trying. The advance trenches were shallow and afforded only a slight protection from the guns of the enemy. Wagner opened on them soon after they went on duty, and continued to fire until late the next afternoon, when our batteries opened and silenced it. I believe this was the last occasion on which Wagner fired upon us in day time. The men lay within one hundred yards of the fort the twenty-four hours, and during the day the enemy could see them from the parapet. Only those who have been placed in a similar situation can appreciate it. The 104th met with six casualties during this tour of duty, viz:—Buderwack, company D, killed; and Horn, company A; Spering, company F; Thomas, company D; McCall, company B; and Wright, company D, wounded. The latter was stunned by a bursting shell. Horn was a second time wounded, both times slightly. Buderwack lived to be taken to the

hospital, where he died in about two hours. He was injured fatally in the back by the bursting of a shell, although the skin was not broken. In his last moments this good soldier thought of his comrades in arms and the poor of his adopted borough. A few minutes before he died he made a verbal bequest of all his worldly wealth. The thirty-six dollars in his pocket he directed to be expended for tobacco for the company, and the one hundred and twenty dollars deposited in the Doylestown bank he wished distributed among the poor of Quakertown borough, where he formerly resided. He was a foreign German, and without relatives in this country. When the men returned from the trenches on the night of the 4th they found prepared for them several gallons of iced-lemonade, enough for a drink all round, than which they could not have received a more welcome treat.

Immediately upon our lodgement upon Morris island general Gillmore organized a boat infantry party, consisting of about two hundred and fifty men, with the proper officers, detailed from the various regiments. It was placed under command of major Sanford, 7th Connecticut, and the officers and men were relieved of all other duty. They used boats that carried about twelve men each, one half at the oars. The place of rendezvous was in the creek near the left batteries, and at a later period their permanent camp was established there. They made nightly reconnoissances through the creeks that empty into the harbor of Charleston, and after the fall of Wagner they picketed the harbor itself. Such a force was necessary to watch the water courses that intersect the marshes that lie between Morris and James' islands to prevent the scouts and spies of the enemy from landing. The enemy employed a similar force, and occasionally there was a collision between the boat pickets. The last of September major Sanford was relieved from the command, and captain Ferris, Independent battalion, appointed. He directed the operations of the boat infantry until the beginning of December, when captain John Hennessy, 52d Pennsylvania Volunteers, was placed in



command, which he retained until the last of April, when the brigade left Morris island. His regiment returned to Morris island in June. He was on duty there when Charleston was evacuated by the enemy, and was the first man in fort Sumter, for which he received the brevets of lieutenant-colonel, colonel, and brigadier-general. This service was both dangerous and arduous, and subjected the officers and men to great exposure. The first detail from the 104th for this duty was made on the 11th of September, when twelve men were ordered there to replace others who had been relieved. They were taken from the four companies A, E, F, and G, company E furnishing about one half of them. About the same time one lieutenant, one sergeant, five corporals, one bugler and thirty privates were detailed from the 104th to man and take charge of four Requa batteries, which were used in connection with the boat-infantry. Lieutenant Bitting, of company H, was placed in command. These batteries consisted of an ingenious arrangement of twenty-five rifle barrels, mounted upon a light field carriage for land service, and on a centre pintal in the stern of a boat when used on water. They load at the breach with metallic cartridges, at a single manipulation, and are discharged by a percussion cap exploded by a hammer and a lanyard. The whole twenty-five barrels can be discharged twelve times in a minute. The barrels can be elevated or depressed, and thrown apart or contracted laterally so as to enable them to command greater or less front. They would be a destructive weapon against infantry. Two of these batteries were afterward used with the boat infantry, lieutenant Bitting and his detail reporting to captain Hennessey for duty. They shared in all the hardships and dangers of the water service during the winter, and until the brigade left the island. One battery was in the reconnaissance to Sumter the night of the 19th of November, and on the nights of the 21st and 22d of the same month one battery was sent out into the harbor with a small party to capture a rebel picket boat. One battery was in the harbor every night the entire



winter. On the nights of the 2d and 3d of February two batteries accompanied the boat infantry and naval expedition in their attempt to capture the relief for Sumter. Not unfrequently the most dangerous part of the duty was assigned the Requas, and sometimes it fell to their lot to be stationed within a few hundred yards of the enemy's batteries on James' island. Those engaged in these duties will always have a lively recollection of the long winter nights they spent in their boats, in cold and storm, patrolling Charleston harbor watching for the approach of the enemy.

When Sumter was rendered harmless for offensive purposes on the 23d of August, there was great expectation that the iron-clads would go in and complete the work which the land forces had so successfully and gallantly commenced. This was understood to be the offer of the Navy Department when Gillmore undertook the siege of Charleston, but the iron monsters, which had cost the government so many millions, and on which so many hopes were based, seemed no more willing to enter the inner harbor than before Sumter had been bombarded. At this time it was believed they could have made a successful entry and have silenced the shore batteries, but after the lapse of a few weeks the enemy had added so much to their strength that the success of any such attempt would have been extremely doubtful. Without intending to cast reflections upon admiral Dahlgren, I am convinced that had Farragut been in command of our fleet off Charleston, the city would have been in our possession by the 1st of September. This opinion was concurred in by the whole army operating there.

Toward the close of July and while yet on Folly island, general Gillmore directed three commissioned officers and five enlisted men to be detailed from each regiment in his army, to proceed to the draft rendezvous of their respective states to receive and conduct drafted recruits to camp to fill up their regiments. The detail from the 104th consisted of lieutenant-colonel Hart, captain Corcoran, and lieutenant Hibbs, and sergeants Craven, Garron, Widdifield,

Ball and Wyatt and Corporal Everett. The number of men required to fill up the regiment to its maximum strength was 341. The detail sailed in the steamer on the 1st of August, and were expected to return in two or three weeks at the farthest, but their absence was prolonged several months waiting for recruits at Philadelphia, and the last of them did not return to the regiment until the middle of the following January. While encamped on Folly island we lost one man by drowning, private Levi Walter, company A, who while bathing in the sea off the eastern beach on the 23d of July, went down in presence of his comrades. He had been a good soldier, and was wounded on the Peninsula.

Before we left Folly island quartermaster Hendrie was transferred to the Invalid corps, for which he had made application some time before, on the ground that his wound received on the Peninsula incapacitated him for active service in the field. He went North about the same time as the officers detailed to conduct drafted recruits to the regiment.

## CHAPTER XXI.

Camp on Morris island.—Condition of regiment.—Night attack in boats on battery Gregg.—Wagner to be again assaulted.—Plan and preparations.—Troops selected.—Bombardment kept up.—We move up to the assault.—Fort evacuated.—Troops march to head of island.—Condition of the fort.—Prisoners taken by boat infantry.—Naval assault on Sumter.—Bombardment of Moultrie.

THE camp of the regiment on Morris island was not in a pleasant location. The whole brigade was encamped on the beach between the ordinary high water line and the sand hills. The troops had the benefit of the sea breeze, but occasional tides overflowed the camps to the depth of a foot or two, when the tents were flooded with water. The officers escaped by having their tents pitched on the sand ridge. One of the first acts of quartermaster Lehnen, who had succeeded lieutenant Hendrie in that office, after the regiment had been transferred to Morris island, was the erection of ovens, which supplied the regiment with good fresh bread, daily. This added greatly to the health of the men, and the saving on the flour at the same time considerably increased the funds in the regimental treasury. I believe all the regiments of the brigade, from time to time, had bread baked in the ovens of the 104th. During the extreme heat the Sanitary commission supplied the regiment with one hundred pounds of ice daily, and more or less vegetables. The men kept remarkably healthy. At no time more than ten per cent. were reported on the sick list, while some regiments ran

up to forty and fifty. This good sanitary condition was the result of discipline, cleanliness, bathing at proper hours, and the proper cooking of food. In the absence of lieutenant colonel Hart the command of the regiment devolved on major Rogers, who conducted it through the operations against Wagner in a very creditable manner. Only those who have tried the experiment know how hard a thing it is to lie still all day and night in a narrow ditch, with the thermometer at 100°, subject to a heavy fire; or while thus exposed to use the shovel. The casualties were numerous—the sick list was largely on the increase—some regiments having more than half their number unfit for duty. The burial of the dead was almost of hourly occurrence, and at one time it became so frequent that an order was issued prohibiting music being used on such occasions. About this time surgeon Hamlin, the medical inspector of the department, made a tour of the camps, and after a careful inspection reported that unless Wagner should soon fall the troops would not be in a condition to longer prosecute the siege, and that a third assault would be more economical of life than the continuance of operations for any length of time, with present losses.

The attention of general Gillmore was now called to the probable success of a night attack, in boats, upon battery Gregg. It was immediately resolved upon. If successful, the retreat of Wagner's garrison would be cut off, and that work would necessarily fall into our hands. The execution of the plan was intrusted to major Sanford, of the 7th Connecticut, and a force of five hundred men was detailed from four of the most reliable regiments. Of this number the 104th furnished one hundred and fifty. The time fixed was the night of the 4th of September, and it was intended to be a surprise. During the day a number of boats were hauled across the island and launched in the creek near the left batteries, whence there was an unobstructed passage into Charleston harbor. The plan was to approach quietly and land under cover of the darkness, and then rush upon and overpower the garrison. The original in-

tention was to spike the guns and blow up the magazine, but it was afterward determined to hold the battery, if taken. When the men came to embark it was found that the boats would not hold them all, and about two thirds were left behind. Before they started major Sanford called for a volunteer to blow up the magazine—one who feared neither man nor the devil. None responding, captain Swartzlander replied that he had such a one in his company, and presented sergeant Rosenberger, who volunteered to apply the match. When the advance drew near the battery a sentinel was discovered on the beach, when the boats retired. The next night another attempt was made with no better success. The enemy opened on the boats with a field piece and small arms and drove them off. Major Sanford reported that the boats retired without orders, while officers who were along, stated that they returned by his express command. The loss was slight. The 104th had two men wounded, corporal Housum, company H, and private Nice, company D, the former quite seriously, by grape shot, and the latter by a piece of shell. The conduct of corporal Housum was highly creditable. He retained his oar and said nothing about his wound until after they had returned, for fear it might alarm the other men in the boat. The officers of the regiment, who accompanied the expedition, were captains Swartzlander and Kephart, and lieutenants Scarborough, Laughlin, Myers and Bitting.

The enterprise failed and Waguer must be taken by other means. It now became evident that another assault would have to be made, and it was determined upon without delay. I was told by general Terry, early in the week, that the work would be stormed in a few days, and that most probably my brigade would form part of the force for that purpose. This was not a pleasant subject to reflect upon several days in advance, as the former experiments of this kind led me to believe it would be a very serious business. As the information was given me in confidence, I was denied the privilege of sharing the reflection with others, by telling them what was to

take place. It gave me ample time to make the preparations which are customary before one enters the "imminent deadly breach." I had a suspicion of what was to be done before any thing was told me on the subject. One night about this time, when being relieved from duty in the trenches, I had occasion to go to the extreme front to explain the situation of things to the new general officer of the day. As I passed along I noticed the engineers hard at work deepening and widening the trenches, which I knew would only be done to enable them to receive and conceal large bodies of troops preparatory to an assault. The officer in charge of the work dropped a remark which strengthened my suspicion, which was confirmed a day or two afterward.

The time of assault was fixed at 9 o'clock on Monday morning, the 7th of September, and it was not made public until the day before. Soon after dinner an orderly was sent round to the respective brigade commanders, with a request for them to report at the quarters of general Terry at five o'clock in the afternoon, and probably none of them suspected the purpose of the meeting, except myself. When we were assembled, he announced that a third assault on Wagner had been resolved on, which would be made the next morning with a hope of seizing the work and capturing the garrison, and that he had sent for us to notify us of the part we were respectively to take in the operations. The matter was well discussed, the troops designated, and such verbal instructions, as were deemed necessary, given to the respective commanders. Each one was handed a drawing of the work. The conference being concluded, we were dismissed to our quarters, with instructions to re-assemble there at 8 o'clock in the evening, bringing with us our regimental commanders. Mean while we gave the necessary directions to have our troops placed in a condition for the work before them. We were punctual at the hour in re-assembling at headquarters. Upon this occasion general Gillmore, and his chief of artillery, colonel Turner, were present. The plan of the assault was further discussed, and

each commanding officer, impressed with the particular duty that devolved upon him, and the important relation it bore to the success of the whole. Written instructions were promised to be sent us before midnight. All present concurred in the feasibility of the plan, and we looked forward to the morrow with hope and confidence to the capture of the great stumbling-block in our road to Charleston. To give encouragement, general Gillmore said to the officers present, that when he was at the war department Mr. Stanton told him he would promote any officer whom he should recommend for good conduct in operations against Wagner, in just two minutes by the clock in the office. But after the work was done, the Secretary forgot his promise. We now bade good-by, and separated to our respective quarters.

The troops selected for this important and serious work, were the brigades of general Stephenson and colonel Davis, and the 97th Pennsylvania and 3d New Hampshire regiments, numbering in all about three thousand men. These two latter regiments were to form the storming party. Montgomery's brigade of negroes was to be held in reserve on the beach near the Beacon house. The plan for the attack was this:—The troops were to be taken into the trenches during the night, the two storming regiments in advance, where they were to lie concealed until the hour arrived for the attack. The signal for the assault was to be the displaying the American flag on the surf battery at the second parallel. The head of the storming party would rest only a few feet from the ditch of the fort, and consequently have but a very short distance to go to mount the work. At the signal they were to rush out of the trench and swarm over the parapet, seize and spike the guns in the water bastion that raked the beach, and secure the entrances to the bomb-proofs. At the same time the two brigades were to leave the trenches by the nearest parallel, and form quickly upon the beach. That of Stephenson was to move up, right in front, pass the end of Wagner next the sea, file to the left and mount the rear of the work. My



brigade was to move up the beach left in front, and when about midway between Wagner and Gregg file across the island to prevent re-enforcements coming down. It was supposed a battery was established somewhere here, which I was directed to seize. The 104th, in addition to their arms and equipments, were to carry two hundred shovels to intrench with, should it become necessary. The shovels were deposited near the quarters of major Rogers during the evening. The troops were ordered to be under arms at half-past 1 o'clock in the morning. The batteries were to continue their fire until the moment of assault.

Mean while operations were pushed most vigorously against Wagner, and the garrison was harassed day and night by fire from land and sea. I have already mentioned that the counterscarp of the ditch was crowned on the night of the 6th, when captain Walker, of the volunteer engineers, pulled up some of the palisading that protected it; and that the trenches were widened and deepened to hold the troops. The light mortars were moved forward and placed in position in the most advance parallels. To prevent the enemy repairing at night the damage done to the fort through the day, a powerful calcium light was turned upon it, which lit up the works almost as light as day, enabling our men to see every thing that was going on, while it blinded the enemy. The number of our sharpshooters was increased and the enemy were kept from his guns day and night. On Saturday morning, the 5th, all the land batteries were opened on Wagner, and at the same time the Ironsides moved up within a thousand yards and commenced a rapid discharge of her heavy broadsides. This was continued over forty hours without cessation. In all this time the air was filled with shells bursting in and over the fort, which drove away every living thing from sight and compelled the garrison to bury themselves in their impenetrable bomb-proofs. At night the spectacle presented was grand and sublime.

When the officers separated at the quarters of general Terry

they repaired to their respective camps to make such personal and professional arrangements as the occasion required. There was a good deal to be done to get ready for such a serious undertaking. There were orders to issue to the troops to get under arms at the time fixed upon; boxes to be filled with ammunition and the canteens with water, beside other necessary preparations. Then there were matters of private business to be arranged and farewell letters written to the loved ones at home, for there was too much uncertainty in the morrow to neglect the fulfilment of any of these little offices. It was an anxious night, no doubt, to all, and many had moments of serious reflection. At a late hour major Rogers came to my tent and announced that he was all ready, and only waited the hour to have his command under arms. I asked him if he had "put his house in order." He did not seem to understand my meaning, and asked me to explain. I replied, in substance, that in all probability some of us would get our heads knocked off in the morning, of which number he might be one; and if he had any farewells to write to family or friends now was the time to do it, as the troops would soon be in motion. The explanation seemed to strike him, and he immediately returned to his quarters.

The written instructions arrived about midnight, and were full and explicit in every particular. After all my preparations were completed, I went down to the camp of the 104th to have a last word with chaplain Gries and other friends, leaving with him my watch and keys, and gave him some personal directions to be carried out in the event of my not returning alive. The troops were aroused soon after midnight to prepare for duty. Most of the men put on the haversack with a few crackers in it, and those who had before neglected it filled their canteens with water. In a little while the regiment reported at the point indicated on the beach and the brigade was formed. It was the first in readiness, and was obliged to wait a considerable time for the other troops. It was a bright moonlight morning, with hardly a breath of wind

stirring, and the surf beat in gentle murmurs on the sandy shore. While waiting with impatience to move forward, an undefined rumor reached us that a deserter had come in with intelligence that the fort was evacuated; but as it could not be traced to a reliable source it was considered a camp story. It was nearly 2 o'clock when we moved up the beach to what every one believed would be a bloody morning's work. We were halted at the Beacon house, where all the troops assembled and where they were kept standing in line some time. The delay gave strength to the rumor of evacuation, for it could only be explained on this ground, as daylight was rapidly approaching and there was hardly time to get the troops arranged in the trenches before it would be light. Presently general Terry joined us and announced that the fort had been evacuated between 10 and 11 the night before, and that we were marching to a bloodless victory. Convinced of the hopelessness of longer defence, and knowing that an assault would not be long delayed after our trenches were opened to the ditch, the enemy adopted the prudent course of evacuating, and left the island in boats from Cumming's point. The information was received with satisfaction, and three thousand hearts beat several pounds lighter. Had the enemy remained a few hours longer no doubt the whole garrison would have fallen into our hands; but the officers and men were willing to forego the pleasure of their capture for the sake of the valuable lives that were saved. The deserter had come in and given himself up to the engineers at work in the advance trenches; but they received his story with some grains of allowance and approached the work with great caution. There were suspicions of a trap of some kind or other. The presence of torpedoes planted on the slopes rendered it dangerous to travel over them. The first man to enter the fort was a sergeant of the 39th Illinois, who, it is said, volunteered to go alone and see if the work was evacuated. Upon his return and announcement that there

was no enemy there, a few troops entered and took undisputed possession.

After some delay the march was resumed toward the head of the island, in hope that the rebels had not all succeeded in making their escape, and that we might pick up a few. They took for granted that we would follow close upon the heels of the retiring garrison, and before we reached Wagner their batteries upon James' and Sullivan's island opened with shot and shell. Their range was excellent, but only a few men were struck. In spite of the good schooling of the men in this kind of amusement, whenever a large shell came uncomfortably near, there would be an involuntary bobbing of heads. The advance was halted near Gregg, while a small party was sent forward to reconnoitre the battery and take possession of it in case it had been evacuated. Before it was light enough for the enemy to see our troops we returned down the beach, leaving a small force at each of the works. We were under fire all the time after we passed the second parallel going up, and until we reached it returning, yet our casualties were astonishingly few.

On our return, I went into Wagner to take a look at the place that had lived through so much hammering. Except being knocked out of all shape, the fort itself was not materially damaged, but every thing about it that could be injured, was pretty well used up. Several of the guns were dismounted, and gun-carriages and wagons smashed to pieces. The commissary store-house was literally reduced to splinters. Their main reliance, the bomb-proofs, were scarcely injured at all, as the many feet of earth that covered them, and the double layer of heavy pine logs that supported it, prevented our shells penetrating. While they kept under cover they were safe from our projectiles, but the heat must have been almost to suffocation. The garrison had arranged wires to explode the magazine, and other infernal contrivances to blow up our men when they should enter the fort, but they were discovered in time to prevent serious consequences. Near the covered way, on the side toward Gregg, was a

pile of rebel dead, the bodies appearing to lie as they were thrown out after being killed. I believe all the bodies had the head off. One poor fellow, who had been wounded three days before, and his wounds not yet dressed, was found in a bomb-proof. He received kind treatment at the hands of our men, but died before he could be taken to the hospital. From the appearance of things, it must have been impossible for the garrison to live outside the bomb-proofs during the bombardment of the last three days. As we marched down the island from Gregg, it appeared practicable for the iron-clads to have raked that narrow tongue of land in such manner as to prevent the escape of the garrison of Wagner. The stench arising from the fort was very offensive. The troops reached their camps about sunrise. Thus ended one of the most memorable sieges ever undertaken on this continent.

In connection with the contemplated assault on Wagner, and in view of a possibility of the garrison evacuating the fort at the time of the attack, it was arranged with the boat infantry that they should endeavor to prevent them leaving the island. In the event of evacuation, the enemy would only be able to withdraw by the way of Cumming's point, and cross the harbor of Charleston in boats. On the afternoon of the 6th, two hundred men were detailed from my brigade, of which fifty came from the 104th, under captain Duncan, and ordered to report to major Sanford, for this service. They embarked at dark, but they were so much delayed in getting out of the creek, that they were too late to intercept the retreating garrison. Several of the boats grounded on account of the low stage of the water. The boat in which were captain Ferris, Independent battalion, and captain Duncan, 104th, overtook two of the enemy's boats in the harbor that had grounded off Cumming's point, and captured them with the assistance of a navy launch, with a small howitzer on board. They had a surgeon and fifty-five men on board. Another boat, in charge of sergeant Carroll, Independent battalion, gave chase to what turned out to be the launch of the

rebel ram *Chicora*, which he succeeded in capturing under the walls of Sumter. The crew consisted of an officer and seven sailors. Not over half a dozen prisoners were captured on the island.

On the 7th, the same day that Wagner fell into our hands, admiral Dahlgren sent a flag of truce to the enemy and demanded the surrender of fort Sumter. The demand was refused. He then determined to take it by assault, and the next night was the time fixed upon. In the mean time he made his preparations. He organized a force of four hundred sailors and marines from the fleet, which were placed under the command of commander Thomas H. Stevens, of the navy. The boats moved up to the attack about 10 o'clock, p.m., and as soon as they came within range, fire was opened on them from the fort with small arms, and with shot and shell from the neighboring batteries. The attempt was of course a failure. The enemy was expecting the attack and fully prepared to meet it. They had noticed the assembling of boats in the fleet during the afternoon, and had good reason to expect the attack that night. A number of our men succeeded in landing, and some scaled the walls, but all were killed or captured. Our loss was about a hundred and fifty. Lieutenant Harris, who commanded the marines on the occasion, states, in his official report, that he could "see nothing but the utmost confusion." Had the army and navy made a joint attack after proper arrangements, success would probably have followed, for the garrison was strengthened only the afternoon before to meet this naval attack. General Gillmore would gladly have joined the admiral in the enterprise, but as he was not consulted on the subject he had no suggestions to make. He had invited the navy to join him in his previous night attempt to capture battery Gregg, but the boat attack on Sumter was a naval affair entirely.

On the afternoon of the 7th the monitor *Weehawken*, returning from off Cumming's point, whither she ran as soon as the island was entirely in our possession, grounded opposite fort Moultrie, and within good range of her guns. During the night every effort to



get her off was made in vain. Her coal and most of her shot were taken out but she would not float. When the enemy discovered her the next morning she was in a critical situation. She was flat on the bottom, with her overhang nearly out of water. The enemy's batteries immediately opened upon her a most tremendous fire. The other monitors and the Ironsides moved up to her assistance early, and stood by their consort. This brought on a general engagement between the iron-clad fleet and the Sullivan's island batteries, which was continued several hours. Just such a fight was never witnessed before, and it was the best test the mailed vessels had been put to during the war. The whole army took to the sand hills and was an anxious and interested spectator of the combat which was only a couple of miles distant across the outer harbor. The Weehawken was not idle although she was aground. She poured her 15 inch shells into fort Moultrie, near which she lay, with good effect. The second one entered a magazine which blew up with a loud report, killing and wounding a number of the garrison. Several wooden buildings were fired and burned. The Ironsides drove the enemy from his guns in Moultrie by the hotness of her fire, and before the fleet retired nearly all his guns were silenced. The batteries opened in the morning with about one hundred pieces. The Weehawken floated off at the turn of the tide in the evening and returned to her anchorage. She was hit twenty-four times without being seriously injured, and had only three men wounded. Had the iron-clads returned to the attack next morning the island would probably have fallen.



## CHAPTER XXII.

New works built on Morris island.—Amount of work done.—Singular accident.—Lively fire by the enemy.—First deserters to come in.—Gillmore promoted.—Attempt to blow up the Ironsides.—Long island reconnoitred.—Boat nearly swamped.—New batteries open.—Reconnoissance to Sumter.—Fire opened on Charleston.—A Parrott gun bursts.—Damage done to city.—The monitor Weehawken sinks.—Soldier shot for desertion.—Christmas gayeties.

NO sooner was the whole of Morris island in our possession than the engineers commenced to place it in a proper state of defence. The thorough completion of the works projected occupied the fall and winter, and the men had but little respite from fatigue. Wagner and Gregg were remodeled and rebuilt and made much stronger than before. They were armed with heavy guns. The enemy left the former in a very filthy condition and several days were occupied in cleaning out the dirt. This was attended with considerable danger. Torpedoes and other infernal contrivances had been planted about the slopes and immediately in front of the work, and great care was required to avoid stepping on and exploding them. In spite of every precaution several men were killed and wounded by them. A few hundred yards below Cumming's point was erected a series of gun and mortar batteries, armed with the heaviest ordnance in service, and bearing on Moultrie and Sumter. Half a mile above the inlet, a fort was built on the sand hills and called after colonel Shaw, who fell in the second assault on Wagner. A battery was constructed

at Oyster point, called after lieutenant-colonel Purviance, 85th Pennsylvania, who had been killed by a shell fired from one of our own guns. Its guns commanded the water approaches toward Secessionville.— Defensive works were erected on the north and south ends of Folly island, and at Pawnee landing. With the aid of the iron-clads, and probably without them, these works rendered Morris island impregnable to any force the enemy could send against us. Our guns at Cumming's point were within a mile and a half of forts Johnston and Moultrie, and less than a mile from Sumter. The distance from Charleston as the bird flies was a trifle more than three miles.

The fatigue and other duties performed by the army during the active operations against Charleston were enormous and no other troops worked harder at any time during the war. My own brigade may be instanced as a fair average. The greater part of the time it had less than fourteen hundred men for duty and yet it performed 27,128 days of fatigue and 46,824 days duty on guard in the trenches. This does not include permanent details for boat infantry and many other details made from all the regiments. The 104th did a full share of both duties. The records for this period give the regiment a credit of 6,445 days of fatigue on the batteries and forts, and 14,285 days in the trenches and other military duty at the front. A tour of duty in the trenches was always twenty-four hours in length, which makes the number of days double compared with the fatigue. The greater part of the time the regiment numbered less than four hundred men for duty. The trenches, parallels, splinter proofs and batteries constructed during the siege measured nearly eight miles in length.

The night ground was broken for the erection of one of the batteries between Wagner and Gregg, afterward known as Chatfield, a singular but fatal accident happened to two of the men on fatigue. The detail was in charge of an officer of the 55th Massachusetts and was divided into two reliefs, which worked alternate half hours. He suspected that some of the men intended to shirk duty, and after

he had placed the first relief on he walked round to examine. He found two men sitting in a large hole made by a shell in the sand on the edge of the beach. On being questioned they replied that they belonged to the second relief and would go on duty in a half hour. He said nothing but walked away, convinced that the men had told him a lie. After the second relief had been placed on duty he returned to the beach and found the same men sitting in the hole in the sand where he had left them. They now answered that they belonged to the first relief that had just come off duty. They had not recognized him as the officer in charge of the working party, for the night was quite dark. Just as he turned to walk away he observed a mortar shell rise over Moultrie, a mile and a half distant, which he watched as it circled through the air and descended near him. He returned and found that it had struck and burst in the hole where the two men were sitting. One was dead with his head cut off as clean as though done with a knife, and the other was so badly mangled that he died before he reached the hospital. Their death seemed like the judgment of a just Providence to punish them for cowardice and lying. The path of duty is the safest even in time of war.

For several weeks after the fall of Wagner the enemy kept up a lively fire on our working parties and men were killed and wounded daily and nightly. Nevertheless they worked cheerfully and without complaint. At times the accuracy of the enemy's fire was wonderful when we consider the distance. In one period of twenty-four hours, out of two hundred and thirty-five shells fired at Wagner, one hundred and eighty-five burst inside the fort, killing and wounding sixteen men. Another day one hundred and fifty shells struck inside the same work. Now, when we consider that the guns which fired these shells were at the distance of about two miles, and that the space they were dropped within embraced an area of less than an acre, we must come to the conclusion that the shooting was remarkable.

Portions of companies D and F were at the front the night of the 21st of September, and while they were off duty, and asleep in the bomb proof at battery Gregg, a shell from James' island entered the door and burst among the men. Seven were wounded, viz: Lilly, Hartfelder, Godshall, Wambold and Miller, of company D, and Stone and Stevens of company F. The wounds of Lilly, Hartfelder and Stevens were of a frightful character, and proved mortal. The latter died the next day, while the two former lived a week. On the 26th William Gray, of company G, while on fatigue at Gregg, was slightly wounded by a fragment of a shell.

A party of deserters, the first since the fall of Wagner, came in and gave themselves up to lieutenant Scarborough, who was on duty at Cumming's point on the night of the 20th. They stole the boat of the commanding officer on Sullivan's island and made their way across the mouth of the harbor to Morris island, without being discovered either by the rebel or our own picket boats. The deserters were seven in number. General Gillmore received his commission as major general, the promotion for his services on Morris island, the last of the month. It was the occasion of a grand parade and review, and rejoicing among the troops. A commission was never better earned or more worthily bestowed. One officer and several men were wounded at battery Chatfield, on the 1st of October, by splinters of shells thrown from James' and Sullivan's islands, viz: captain Kephart, corporal Eastburn and privates Stiner and Titus, of company C, Stroup, company I, and Elf, of company E. The wound of Eastburn, which was in the arm, was so severe as to disable him from active service, and he was afterward transferred to the Invalid corps.

We had an alarm the night of the 5th of October, when all the troops were turned out under arms. It was caused by the discharge of musketry among the fleet in the outer harbor. In the morning we learned that an attempt had been made by the enemy to blow up the Ironsides. About 9 o'clock the officer of the deck saw a small

object on the water approaching the vessel, and as it gave no response when challenged, the sentinels fired into it. A moment afterward the vessel received a severe shock, followed by a loud explosion that threw a column of water on the spar deck and into the engine room. The object that caused the alarm proved to be a cigar-shaped torpedo steamer, fifty feet long and five feet beam, nearly submerged in the water. The explosion threw such a quantity of water on the little vessel that the fires were put out, and it was supposed she sunk ; but it was afterward learned that she succeeded in getting up steam again and returned to Charleston. The torpedo was fastened on a spar which projected from the bow under the water. She was commanded by lieutenant Glassell, formerly of the United States Navy. He, together with the fireman and pilot, jumped overboard and were picked up and made prisoners. The torpedo was exploded under the Ironsides, but did not damage her in the least. It made no impression on this monster beyond starting a beam. The officer in charge of the deck was mortally wounded and died a few days afterward. To prevent such attacks in the future spars were rigged around the iron-clads in the water, from which was hung a strong rope netting that extended several feet under water and kept down by weights.

To the east of Sullivan's island, on the opposite side of the outer harbor from Morris, and separated from the former by Breach inlet, lies Long island, several miles in length, narrow, and partially covered with timber. It was thought to be a practicable approach to the enemy's works on Sullivan's island, and at one time the idea was entertained of making that the basis of operations for a new attack. The beginning of October general Gillmore thought of landing a force upon the island to hold it for any operations that might subsequently be determined upon. My brigade was mentioned in connection with this enterprise. It was afterwards determined to have only a reconnoissance made to see if a landing might be effected without the knowledge of the enemy. I was requested to make

the attempt, which I did on three occasions. In each instance we were foiled by the watchfulness of the enemy. Pickets were stationed on the shore and armed boats patrolled the water. I was accompanied by a party of seven men, three of whom, Overbeck, Leibler and Hoffman, belonged to my own regiment. Taking a boat in Light House inlet we pulled out to the fleet when the admiral sent us in a propeller to a gun-boat lying further out. She ran out over the bar at dark and anchored within a convenient distance of the shore until the moon went down, when she ran in and the boats were sent off. The enemy was always on the alert. On one occasion three men succeeded in landing, but they had hardly stepped ashore when a strong picket showed itself, which compelled them to return to their boat. On these occasions I passed the night on the gun-boat and was treated with that hospitality and kindness so characteristic of the navy. When the first attempt was made our whole party came near meeting a watery grave. It was a windy afternoon and the surf on the bar at the mouth of Light House inlet was heavy. In passing through it our boat came within an ace of going down. For some minutes every wave dashed over us, and the boat was filled with water almost to the benches. For want of something better, I used my felt hat to bail out the water. After struggling for some time in the trough of the sea we succeeded in passing through the breakers into smoother water. Our escape was mainly attributable to the strong helmsman and good oarsmen. I was wet to the skin, and when we reached the admiral's flag-ship a dry suit of clothes was furnished me by a member of his staff. I was dressed from tip to toe in naval uniform, which was the only occasion in my life when I felt that I belonged to the naval service.

During the winter a party of deserters, two in number, came in to Morris island from Mount Pleasant, passing round behind Sullivan's island and through Breach inlet. They reported to me, and I obtained considerable information from them not before known. They had not encountered any picket boats of the enemy on their way,



which led me to believe that that approach was unguarded. I recommended that an attempt should be made to capture Sullivan's island by that route. My plan was to pass through Breach inlet and back of Sullivan, and land on the peninsula about two miles above Mount Pleasant, move down the peninsula, surprise the guns parked in the timber near the village, and fire the bridge that connected it with Sullivan's island. The plan was thought to be of too doubtful a character to be entertained. I was afterward told by a gentleman in the confidence of the enemy, that it was feared an attack would be made from that quarter, which would probably have been successful.

Our new batteries, at the head of the island, were so far completed by the 26th of October as to be ready to open, and on that day they were tried on Sumter. The fire was continued for several days. The weight of the projectiles thrown from the 300-pounder Parrott, mounted in battery Chatfield, in a single day was fifteen thousand pounds. One shell from this gun broke the iron girder of a casemate in the fort, which let the arch fall, by which fourteen men were killed. This fact was stated in the *Charleston Mercury* of 2d of November.

On the 28th of October general Gillmore announced in orders from department head-quarters that "Medals of Honor, for gallant and meritorious conduct during the operations before Charleston, would be awarded to three per cent. of the enlisted men who had been present in action." The candidates were to be nominated by the company officers, and the names forwarded through intermediate commanders to post commandants, with remarks of approval or disapproval. In each instance the particular act of gallantry or good conduct of the soldier was to be specified. In many instances it was a difficult matter to determine who was the most deserving when all had behaved so well. The following are the names of the men to whom medals were awarded in the 104th, viz:—Commisary-sergeant Halback; Williams, company A; corporal Stover, com-



pany B; Keeler, company C; sergeant Rosenberger, company D; Farrell, Hargins and Overbeck, company E; corporal Eastburn and private Regan, company F; corporal Gaddis and private Curly, company G; sergeant Strawbridge and corporal Housum, company H; corporal Seneca Beal, company I; and corporal Jarrett, company K. This selection met the approval of the enlisted men of the regiment.

On the night of the 2d of November captain Ferris, commanding the boat infantry, volunteered to make a reconnoissance to Sumter to endeavor to learn the condition it was in. It was supposed our last bombardment had rendered it untenable, and our look-out gave it as his opinion that the fort had been evacuated. Soon after dark the captain, in a small boat with two men, pulled over to the fort and landed with one man at the southwest angle. He climbed up the battered wall and had got within a few feet of the top, when the boat was discovered and challenged. The man in it had the good sense to parley with the sentinel a few minutes, which gave the captain and the other man time to get down into the boat before they were fired upon. The report of the gun alarmed the garrison and a number of shots were fired, but only one of the party was wounded. Our guns at Gregg opened on Sumter and assisted the boat to make good its retreat.

A few nights afterward general Terry, commanding the forces on the island, ordered a reconnoissance in force to be made to the fort. It was commanded by major Conyngham, of the 52d Pennsylvania regiment. The force consisted of two hundred and fifty men with rifles and one Requa battery in charge of lieutenant Bitting. Of these the 104th furnished fifty men and lieutenants Laughlin and Scarborough. The instructions were to make such demonstration against Sumter as to induce the garrison "to use their musketry fire on the boats," and thus ascertain its strength. An assault was not to be made upon the fort unless it was evident that it could be easily taken. The boats lay in one of

the creeks until the moon went down, when they pulled out into the harbor. Under cover of the darkness they were able to approach within a few hundred yards of the fort before they were discovered, when they were fired upon. The garrison appeared to have been on the watch. This was followed by a shot from a steamer, probably a ram, that lay behind the angle of the fort toward Charleston, and soon the batteries on James' and Sullivan's island opened a cross fire on the boats, the shot and shell ricocheting very lively across the water. The object of the reconnoissance being accomplished, in developing the probable strength of the garrison, the boats withdrew with the loss of only three men wounded. The affair was well managed by the officer in command.

Batteries had been erected with a view of throwing shells into Charleston, and by the 17th they were so far completed as to enable us to open fire. That day nineteen shells were thrown into the city from battery Gregg, and the next day a 100 pounder was opened from battery Chatfield, which threw fourteen shells into Charleston before night. From this time forward, during the winter and spring, the firing was continued with a good deal of regularity. There was more or less every twenty-four hours. At periods a shell was dropped into the city every five minutes for several consecutive nights. The firing was principally done with two 30 pounder Parrotts, one of which had been used through all our operations, and been fired a great number of times. At the muzzle the rifling was worn down smooth on the under side. This gun was removed to Folly island in January, and the firing was continued by its mate. It was fired at an elevation of forty-two degrees, and the strain upon it was enormous. Down to this period a 30 pounder Parrott had not been known to burst; but this treatment was too much for any metal to stand, and it gave up the ghost on the 19th of March, at the 4,615th round. The endurance of this piece was considered remarkable by the ordnance and artillery officers. The fragments were very carefully collected and drawings made of them to be

sent to West Point. There were fired from this gun 133,450 pounds of iron, and it consumed one-sixth as much powder. Down to this period in the operations against Charleston, twenty-three guns in all had burst, one of which was a 300 pounder, five 200, and seventeen 100 pounders. In only one instance was injury done to an artillerist.

Deserters kept us informed, from time to time, of the injury our shells did to the city. Every body who could get away went into the country, and only the poorer classes remained in town. They removed to the upper portion to avoid our shells, leaving that part below John and Calhoun streets nearly depopulated. A number of public and private buildings were destroyed, and others damaged. The Mills house had several shells through it. On Christmas night a large cotton press was set on fire and burned. The debris from the ruined buildings obstructed the streets, and by spring this beautiful city wore a very dilapidated appearance. It suffered terribly for the political crime of its inhabitants. The poor people who remained must have had a hard winter of it. With bacon at four dollars per pound, corn eighteen to twenty dollars per bushel, and flour one hundred and fifty dollars a barrel, all prime necessities of life, it is a wonder that they lived at all.

Mean while but little of regimental interest transpired. In October the regiment was completely clothed in a new dark-blue uniform, with blouses instead of dress coats; and dark-blue jackets and light-blue caps for the drum corps. The men presented an unusually fine appearance, and at a review shortly afterward attracted the marked attention of the commanding general. On the evening of the 5th of November, while assistant surgeon McAlear was on duty at the front, he was thrown from his horse and had his leg broken. The next day the other assistant, Brush, was sent to saint Augustine, Florida, to recover from a violent attack of fever. This left surgeon Robinson without assistance in the medical department. Captain Marple about this time was detailed as a member of a board

of officers to determine the case of officers who had overstaid their leave of absence. He served in this capacity until the 11th of February, when he was relieved to take his seat as member of a general court-martial. The regiment was doing its full share of duty on all occasions, and participated in all the dangers and fatigues of the operations.

On the 28th I left camp on a visit home, and returned after an absence of thirty days. I carried with me the regimental flags to have the names of actions inscribed upon them, which had been awarded for services in the army of the Potomac in 1862. They had become so tender from long exposure to the weather, that they would hardly bear the weight of the inscriptions. In my absence, major Rogers and the chaplain came north on leave—the former to recover from illness which detained him two months at home, and the latter to convey the money of the enlisted men to their families. The absence of both lieutenant-colonel Hart and major Rogers left the regiment in command of captain Marple. General Gillmore had detailed captain Pickering for acting assistant inspector general of my brigade, in place of captain Hennessey, who had been placed in command of the boat infantry at his own request. New tents had been drawn, and the location of the camp changed from the beach to behind the sand-hills, where it was better protected from the cold east winds.

After long delay the drafted recruits assigned to the regiment began to arrive at camp. The first batch, thirty-five in number under lieutenant Hibbs, arrived on the 2d of December and were at once placed under instruction. The order from the war department authorizing the re-enlistment of men who had less than one year to serve, was promulgated some weeks before this time, but only a few recruits were obtained. With a view of a more active enlistment of veterans, a recruiting officer was appointed for each regiment which had served over two years. Captain Swartzlander was selected for the 104th. The time of re-enlistment was first ex-

tended to the 1st of January and then to the 1st of March. One hundred and ten of the old men re-enlisted for another term of three years, and were re-mustered into the service on the 23d of March.

On the 6th of December a sad calamity happened to one of the monitors lying at her anchorage off Morris island. The *Wehawken* foundered in a gale within a few hundred yards of the shore, in full view from the camps, carrying down to a watery grave twenty petty officers and seamen. All the efforts made to save them were in vain. The cause of her sinking was never ascertained to entire satisfaction, but it is supposed to have been caused by the water running in at the forward hatch and filling the compartments below before the pumps could be set going. This was the first severe gale of the season, and considerable injury was done to the eastern bastion of Wagner.

On the 16th of December a private of the 3d New Hampshire was shot for desertion. He had lately joined the regiment as a drafted recruit. He attempted to escape across the marshes to the enemy on James' island, but not being able to get over he re-entered our lines and gave himself up as a deserter from him. On his being taken to the Provost guard-house he was recognized by a member of his regiment on duty there and the trick exposed. He was tried and sentenced to be shot, which was done in the presence of all the troops on the island. One other man attempted to desert during the winter, but he perished in the marshes from the effects of the severe cold weather, where his body was found. He had tied empty canteens on his breast to buoy him up while crossing the creeks, and fastened strips of boards to his arms and legs to prevent his body sinking in the mud as he crossed the marshes.

Christmas eve was the occasion of much gayety at Hilton Head. The officers of the post gave a grand military ball, which was held in the large building on the beach used for department head-quar-

ters. The numerous rooms were tastefully decorated and a large and gallant company assembled. Seventy ladies graced the scene. As all the officers could not be allowed to leave their commands in presence of the enemy, each brigade in front of Charleston was authorized to send three representatives. Surgeon Robinson and captain Pickering represented my command. The ball was considered a very fine affair in army circles.

The enemy gave us another kind of a ball in the Stono river, at which the navy was present without cards of invitation. On Christmas he brought down four guns to Legareville, and at daylight the next morning opened on the gunboats Pawnee and Marblehead, lying at anchor in the river. There was a brisk cannonade for a couple of hours, when he was driven off with the loss of three guns. A few men were killed and wounded and the vessels were slightly damaged.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

Opening of new Year.—The troops supplied with wood.—Deserters come in.—Recruits arrive.—Regiment filled up.—Wagner completed.—Colonel Davis placed in command of Morris island.—Garrison reduced.—Shakspeare reading.—Blockade runner destroyed.—Attempt to cut off relief for Sumter.—Gun boat Housatonic destroyed by torpedo.—Expedition to Florida.—Hard work during winter.—Party of citizens desert from Charleston.—Morris island wears away.—Visit by English officers.—Veterans of 104th go north.—Put in command of Hilton Head district.

THE new year opened in a state of comparative quiet between the opposing forces. The enemy's batteries fired on us very seldom, and our heavy fatigue parties, which were still kept at the front, day and night, worked in much greater security than before. All arrangements necessary for the comfort of the troops during the winter were made in season. The army was put to great inconvenience to obtain a supply of fuel, which was limited in quantity. It will be remembered that Morris island is only a sand bank, entirely destitute of timber, so that all the fuel required had to be transported from neighboring islands. During the siege operations of the summer and fall the supply on Folly island had been pretty well exhausted, and we had now to look to other points. The business of supplying the garrison during the winter was intrusted to my brigade quartermaster, lieutenant Weidensaul, 52nd Pennsylvania regiment. He found a well-wooded little island down Folly river, about eight miles from Morris island. A wood-chopping party of three



companies was detailed, which encamped on the island, with teams to haul the wood to the landing. It was then brought up the river into the inlet, in light draft steamboats, and delivered at our wharf. This supply gave out before spring, when the chopping party was moved down the Stono river five miles further to another island. The allowance to each regiment was two wagon loads a day, a supply so limited that it created the necessity for the greatest economy. At no time was there enough to build up the old-fashioned camp fires, which soldiers so much delight in on a cold night; around which they congregate to relate their "hair-breadth escapes by flood and field," and fight their battles o'er again.

On the morning of the 7th of January seven deserters from the enemy came in. They belonged to the receiving ship in the harbor of Charleston. Five of them landed on the beach just below Wagner. The other two formed part of a boat's crew that was on duty in the harbor. During a heavy rain storm the middle and five of the men went ashore at fort Johnson, leaving the other two in charge of the boat. Seeing this was their opportunity to come into our lines, they pulled for Cumming's point. They got lost in the darkness and were obliged to lay to all night in the mouth of a creek. When day-light came to their assistance they pulled down to fort Gregg and landed. They brought with them the arms, lanterns and glasses belonging to the crew. They surrendered to an officer of the 104th on duty there at the time. Being sailors they were turned over to the custody of the admiral. A few days before, one of the spies of general Gillmore was caught on James' island, but we never heard what disposition was made of him. On the afternoon of the 10th a new 30 pounder Parrott battery was tried upon Charleston and a few shells thrown into the city.

The remainder of the conscripts and substitutes for the 104th arrived in camp on the 16th instant, 289 in number, under command of lieutenant colonel Hart. They were immediately assigned to companies and placed under military instruction. As a whole

they were a respectable body of men, as much so as could be obtained in this manner. The officers had considerable difficulty with a few of them on the passage down. Sixteen escaped from the cars between Philadelphia and New York and were not apprehended. One concealed himself on board the steamer and could not be found. Another was shot by an officer on the vessel, through mistake, it is alleged, on the way down, who was left in the hospital at Hilton Head, where he died in March. Before they left Philadelphia the commanding officer at the draft rendezvous placed eight thousand dollars in colonel Hart's hands belonging to the substitutes, which was paid to them after their arrival on Morris' island. The colonel was sick when he arrived. He had been relieved from duty in Philadelphia in December, by order of the secretary of war, but it was so near the time the recruits would leave that he was detained to come down in command. The remainder of the officers and men detailed for this duty, who had not rejoined the regiment before, came down with the detachment. In filling up the regiment the strength of the companies was equalized. This raised it to almost the maximum number. After the men were assigned to companies there was a good deal of trading among the captains who wished to get rid of bad men and receive good ones in their stead. It is told that one company commander took considerable pains with a lout of a fellow whom he wished to trade, to make him appear to good advantage. He was taken out behind the camp and drilled privately, and was provided with a shirt-collar to give him a more youthful appearance. The trade was made about twilight when the defects of the man could not be so readily seen.

Fort Wagner was finished about the middle of the month and turned over to a garrison commander, captain Strahan, a gallant officer of the 3d Rhode Island artillery, who retained the command during the winter. The raising of the stars and stripes over the fort was made the occasion of a jollification, accompanied by music and a salute from the big guns. The head-quarters of the departmen

were removed about this time from Folly island to Hilton Head. Before his departure general Gillmore had formed what was called the Northern District, composed of all the points and islands on the coast held by our troops from Charleston harbor down to St. Helena sound. Brigadier-general Terry was appointed to this command, with his head-quarters on Folly island. This change left me the senior officer on Morris island and I was placed in command of the troops there on the 17th of January. The garrison at that time consisted of three brigades of infantry, two white and one negro, and some artillery and engineers, with nearly one hundred guns in position. I moved down to the old post head-quarters on the lower part of the island, turning the command of my brigade over to colonel Hoyt, 52d regiment. Lieutenant McCoy went with me as acting assistant adjutant general, the duties of which he discharged until the return of major Rogers from sick leave, in February who was then appointed to the place. The former remained on the post staff as A. D. C. At a later period, when general Terry called home the balance of his staff, other appointments were made at post head-quarters to fill their vacancies. Drummer Johnson, of company D, and private Campbell were detailed as clerks in the adjutant general's office.

The last of the month the garrison was reduced by sending the negro brigade to Hilton Head; and two white regiments were withdrawn in February. This reduced the strength to some five thousand men, force enough to hold the island and carry on the operations. On the 30th of January we had three more deserters from the enemy to come in. They made their way from James' island across the intervening swamps and creeks, wading the former and swimming the latter. They were nearly exhausted when they reached our lines. They told the same story that we received from all deserters, of great suffering in the Confederacy and disgust with the war. They expected, however, they were called upon to say something that would be pleasing to their captors. On the evening of

27th the dull routine of siege operations and garrison life was enlivened by a literary entertainment of no mean merit. Chaplain Hudson, of the New York Volunteer engineer regiment, was invited to come over from Folly island, where he was quartered, and lecture on the Othello of Shakspeare before the officers. The lecture was delivered in the ordnance building before a large and appreciative audience. The 4th New Hampshire band was present and played several delightful tunes. Other lectures of a kindred character would have followed, but the chaplain soon afterward changed his quarters to Hilton Head.

Occasionally during the winter a blockade runner succeeded in running the gauntlet of our fleet and getting into Charleston; and occasionally one ran out to sea. On the night of the 1st of February an English steamer attempted to run in. She succeeded in passing through the entire fleet in the fog that prevailed, but ran aground on a bar near Sullivan's island, abreast of fort Moultrie. She was discovered at daylight when our batteries at the head of Morris island opened upon her. Between 8 and 9 o'clock two monitors moved and opened fire also. The fire was continued until she was destroyed. Our shore batteries threw at her seven hundred and sixty-nine projectiles, ranging in size from a 30 to a 300 pounder. The greatest distance thrown was 3,600 yards, from Wagner. The enemy's batteries opened on us in return and wounded two artillerymen. The vessel was a Clyde steamer, side-wheeler, long and low, called the Presto. She was from Nassau, loaded with blankets, salt beef and shoes. I was afterwards informed by deserters that the rebel soldiers on Sullivan's island got at the whiskey in the steamer, and that nearly the whole garrison was drunk the next day after she grounded.

Now and then the enemy would open upon us without any provocation whatever. Such was the case on the 12th, when all their batteries on Sullivan and James' islands opened a most furious cannonade, which continued several hours. They threw more than four hundred shells, but not a man of ours was injured.

During the winter several hundred re-enlisted men returned home from the command to spend their veteran furlough. The absence of colonel Hoyt, of the 52d, left my old brigade in command of lieutenant-colonel Hart for four or five weeks. Mean time the 104th was commanded by captains Harvey and Corcoran. The men of the regiment assisted chaplain Gries to erect a rude "Bethel," or place for religious worship and other kindred purposes within the limits of the camp. It was built on poles and covered with an old paulin; a high sand-bank protected it from the east winds. It was provided with a rough desk for the speaker and seats for the congregation. A lyceum was organized under the supervision of the chaplain, and after evening prayer-meeting some time was spent in the discussion of questions, reading essays, &c. Some of the exercises would have done credit to a more pretentious assemblage.

On the night of the 2d of February an attempt was made to intercept and cut off the relief for the garrison of Sumter. Deserters who had recently come in gave information that the enemy was in the habit of relieving the garrison every twelfth night. They embarked in boats at the wharf at fort Johnson and pulled across the harbor under cover of the darkness. According to our calculation the time for the garrison to be changed fell on the night of the 2d instant. The attempt was made in conjunction with a party from the fleet. Our boats were on the line between Johnson and Sumter soon after dark and watched until near daylight, but nothing whatever was seen. It may have been that the relief passed over before our boats took up their position, or that the enemy saw some movement on our side that put him on his guard. I do not think we were mistaken in the information received.

Next to the foundering of the *Wehawken*, the destruction of the steam gun-boat *Housatonic* was the most unfortunate occurrence of the winter. On the night of the 17th of February she was blown up at her anchorage by a torpedo sent down from Charles-

ton. It was attached to a small cigar-shaped boat, nearly submerged in water and propelled by steam similar to the one that struck the Ironsides. It was seen to approach, but could not be kept off.—The steamer was struck in the stern; there was a dull report, when her bottom literally dropped out and she sank in twenty-eight feet of water. The captain was thrown several feet into the air by the concussion, and was considerably injured. Three lives were lost.

The tenacity with which the enemy held on to Sumter was wonderful. In the interval of our firing he was constantly engaged in repairing damages and clearing away the rubbish from the battered walls. He erected new bomb-proofs made of heavy frames of timber, covered with several feet of sand and debris. On the top of these were mounted four brass guns to use against an assaulting party, while in the lower tier of casemates, on the channel face, were mounted four 10 inch Columbiads. We could plainly see the men at work during the day, and at night the boat infantry could hear them actively engaged. Before spring the ruins of Sumter had been converted in a strong defensive work, probably stronger than ever before for this purpose. He was constantly adding to the strength of all the forts and batteries that encircled the harbor. Two men were kept daily in the tower on the Beacon house with a powerful glass to observe any thing that was going on around. At evening they reported at head-quarters all the movements that had been seen within the enemy's lines during the day. If a battery was strengthened or a new gun mounted, it was known at post head-quarters before we retired for the night. We were near enough Charleston to tell the time of day by their clocks on the church steeples, and people could be seen walking in the streets. The workmen on a new iron-clad at the wharf were plainly to be seen with a glass.

The only offensive movement undertaken in the department during the winter was the expedition into Florida in February which culminated so unfortunately for our army at Olustee. It was



charged at the time that it was put on foot for political purposes, and was never satisfactorily denied. If such was the case, it is another instance where disaster follows the attempts of politicians to manipulate armies in the field. Immediately after the defeat at Olustee two brigades were sent down from Folly island to re-enforce Seymour. In conjunction with his movements a reconnoissance in force was made on Kiowah and John's islands to distract the attention of the enemy. On the 8th of March general Terry sent a thousand men up to Bull's bay for the same purpose. The weather was very stormy and but few were landed. I furnished one half the force from my command, of which the 104th supplied one hundred and fifty men, under command of captain Groff and lieutenants Glase and Tyson. The enemy understood these demonstrations and paid but little attention to them.

No portion of the army during that winter performed more labor than the troops stationed on Morris island. The force was inadequate to the duty to be done, and it was of that kind from which no glory could be gained. After the re-enlisted veterans had gone home and the other regiments left that had been ordered away, the garrison was reduced to less than fifteen hundred men for duty, one half of which were conscripts and substitutes lately arrived. Five hundred men were sent to the front every night, which with the usual camp guard and other necessary details placed about one half the entire garrison on duty at a time. Often the same men went to the front two nights in succession. Then the fatigue duty was still very heavy, and the men seemed to be constantly changing from the rifle to the shovel all winter. Several hundred were still daily employed on the fortifications. On the 9th of March adjutant Wallazz, sergeants Mellis, Rohr and Cromme, and corporal Jarrett, left the regiment under orders to report for duty at the draft rendezvous at Philadelphia. The detail was made by direction of the secretary of war. On the 12th captain Pickering was appointed inspector for Morris island, by general Gillmore. In consequence he was



relieved from duty at brigade head-quarters and became a member of the staff of the post commander. After the 3rd New Hampshire left the island, a detail for mounted orderlies, was made on the 104th. For this purpose the regimental commander furnished privates McCall, Oliver, Edwards, Thomas, Wannop, Eastburn and Probst. They were placed in charge of corporal Rice, a neat and reliable soldier of company K. They continued on this duty while we remained on the island, and discharged it with great fidelity.

We were remarkably free from casualties during the winter, notwithstanding the firing at times was very heavy between the batteries. One case of killing, that of an artilleryman at battery Gregg, was very unusual. He was standing at his gun during the interchange of shots with some of the enemy's batteries on Sullivan's island. A shell buried itself in the sand under his feet and he was tripped up. He fell across the spot the moment it exploded and was blown to pieces. Some of his members were never found. Occasionally there was a narrow escape. One evening major Ames, chief of artillery, rode to the front to learn the cause of the sudden opening of the enemy's batteries. He had barely dismounted at battery Gregg when a fragment of shell struck his horse in the neck and killed him instantly. Another artilleryman was killed in this wise. He took cover from a shell from Moultrie in a splinter proof that was open to the rear. It burst behind his shelter several yards in the air, and according to the law of projectiles the fragments should have continued on their course. They all did but one, which turned back, Boomarang fashion, flew straight into his place of concealment and killed him on the spot.

On the night of the 10th of March a party of eight citizens came down from Charleston and landed on Morris island. The leader of the party had charge of the lines of military telegraph around the city and five of those who came with him were his boat's crew. He brought with him one soldier, his assistant. The night was so intensely dark that they were not intercepted by the picket boats of either army.

Since we landed on the island in July, 1863, the encroachment of the sea was quite evident to every one. By April, 1864, the high water line at the south end was at least two hundred feet further landward than it was nine months before. The sand ridge on which the head-quarter tents were pitched at the first landing had long since been swallowed up by the sea and was now covered by several feet of water. Major Brooks, engineer officer on the staff of general Gillmore, told me that during the period of fifty days in the early part of the siege the sea had encroached that number of feet on the island. When the coast-survey officers surveyed the island in 1849 they had a station on a sand hill about two hundred and fifty feet seaward from where Wagner now stood, and which must now have been covered by ten or fifteen feet of water at low tide. At this rate it cannot be many years before the island will be swallowed up by the sea, unless the tidal waves shall change their vocation and form a new sand ridge on the beach.

The troops managed to pass the winter in comparative comfort. The camps were in part shielded from the cold winds by the sand-hills behind which the tents were pitched. The government refused to furnish lumber to the men to floor their tents, but many of them picked up enough pieces of boards and parts of cracker-boxes to use instead. Some raised their tents from the sand, while others excavated the ground inside to the depth of a couple of feet, making a pretty good basement to their canvas homes. It was quite a protection in time of high wind. A few of the tents had fire-places, built of old bricks taken from the ruins of the lighthouse, and most of them were provided with doors. The commissioned officers were dealt with more generously. They were provided with lumber, both to frame and floor their tents, and each one had a fire-place or stove. There was not a chimney on the island that did not do some terribly tall smoking during the winter at some stage of the wind. Rations were abundant and good, and there was a plentiful supply of clothing. The weather was not unpleasant, ex-

cept when the high east winds prevailed. Some of the time it was warm and pleasant. The equinoctial storm, which was the heaviest of the season, continued more than two weeks. In this time the sea encroached upon the island twenty feet.

During the winter several subalterns were raised a grade, which made room for the promotion of a number of worthy non-commissioned officers. Among these were sergeants Tyson, Shaffer, Glase and Williams to be first lieutenants, and sergeants Craven, Widdi-field, Heckler, O'Connell, Fox, Wiatt and Michener to be second lieutenants. Sergeant Rosenberger, of company D, was also promoted, and received his commission, but there was so much delay in its coming, that he declined to receive it, on the ground that his enlistment was too near out, to enter upon another term of three years. Sergeant Tomlinson, of company E, who had been discharged during the winter on account of disability, also received the commission of second lieutenant, but he was not able to rejoin the regiment. The promotion of Tyson made a vacancy in the warrant of sergeant-major, which was given to sergeant Johnson, of company E.

On the 1st of April Morris island was visited by lieutenant-colonel Galway and captain Alderson, of the British army, and captain Goodnough, of the Royal navy, who came down, by permission of the secretary of war, to take a look at the siege operations. As they came accredited to me by both generals Gillmore and Terry, it became my duty to extend to them what little hospitality the post afforded. They were taken to the front in an ambulance, and had explained to them all the operations which led to the fall of Wagner. From the top of the bomb-proof they looked across to the battered walls of Sumter, and had pointed out to them the batteries that bore on Charleston, and the enemy's works contiguous. Mean while the cooks at head-quarters had been put at work, and by the time we returned, a state dinner was prepared, where additional welcome was given to our English cousins over the smoking platter and the flowing bowl. They expressed themselves delighted with their reception

and treatment, as well they might, for they not only received the best edibles and drinkables the island possessed, but we also gave them our best manners.

The veterans of the 104th, one hundred and ten in number, left Morris island for home, on the 10th, in command of captain Marple. About this time the garrison was further reduced by the withdrawal of the 9th Maine and the 100th New York, which left with me only the 52d and 104th regiments, and some artillery, a force entirely inadequate to hold the island, should an attack be made upon it in force. These two regiments received orders to be ready to embark at a moment's notice, but they did not leave for a couple of days. The post was re-enforced by the arrival of the 54th Massachusetts, a negro regiment. This movement of troops was made in obedience to orders from Washington. General Gillmore, with the 10th corps, had been ordered to re-enforce the army of the James, under Butler, then about to operate against Richmond. It consisted of three divisions, and numbered about 18,000 men. They had all been drawn from the department of the South, which was weakened in troops to this extent. Captain Harvey was appointed provost marshal of the island, and lieutenant O'Connell post commissary of subsistence, to replace officers who had left with the troops going north. On the afternoon of the 13th, with my staff and band, I visited the Wabash, the flag-ship of the South Atlantic blockading squadron, to pay my respects to the commodore and other officers of my acquaintance. Just before dinner was ready to be served up, I was called ashore by a telegram to execute an order received from department head-quarters. The rest of the party remained aboard, and were detained all night by a violent storm that arose. The withdrawal of so many troops was evidence of itself that active operations in that section would be mainly suspended the coming summer, which subsequent events proved to be the case.

On the 20th of April I received an order from general Gillmore

to turn over the command of Morris island to the officer next in rank and report immediately at department head-quarters. At the same time the 52d and 104th regiments were ordered to Hilton Head. The command of the post was turned over to colonel Hallowell, 54th Massachusetts, and the same afternoon I embarked on a steamer awaiting me at the south end of Folly island. I arrived at Hilton Head the next morning. On reporting at headquarters I was directed to relieve colonel Howell, 85th Pennsylvania, in the command of the Middle district, extending along the coast from Saint Helena sound to the mouth of Savannah river, and embracing the important coast islands of Saint Helena, Hilton Head, and Tybee, with fort Pulaski. The 52d and 104th arrived two days afterward. I spent three days in traversing the district and becoming acquainted with the location of the troops and the points to be defended, and on the 26th I took formal command. The disposable force at my command was about 2,500 men, with three small armed vessels to patrol the waters under ensign Cecil C. Neil, U. S. Navy. My old brigade was now divided. It was to have gone north with the 10th corps, but at the solicitation of general Hatch, who succeeded to the command of the department, the 52d and 104th were detained, with orders to follow as soon as they could be spared. But that time never came and the old brigade was never again united. General Gillmore's whole force had sailed for Virginia by the 1st of May, and on that day himself and staff embarked on the steamer Arago for Fortress Monroe. The force left in the department numbered some 16,000 men, more than the general found there when he took command ten months before. It was ample for defensive purposes, but the troops were too much scattered to attempt any very important offensive operations.

( While the regiment lay on Morris island, company K did a

generous act. Corporal Chalkley Neeld had lately died of consumption, leaving one child. When the enlisted men of the company heard of it, they raised one hundred dollars to be invested for the use of the orphan child of their deceased companion.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

The new command.—Excursions to Pinckney and Dafuskee islands.—Returns home on leave.—In command of regiment.—White men detailed to cook for negroes.—Execution.—In command of new brigade.—Attack on Charleston.—Expedition sails.—Land on Seabrook's island.—Cross to John's island.—Surgeon Robinson captured.—Our troops halt and take position.—General Hatch comes up.—Colonel Davis wounded.—Taken to hospital.

MY new command was an honorable one. The district was large and important; the duties sufficient to keep the mind actively employed, while pleasant quarters enabled me to live comfortably. All important points in the district were accessible by water, and the transports at my command enabled me to pass from one to another conveniently. The enemy was much in the habit of alarming our pickets, and a strict watch was kept by land and water to prevent him entering our lines. Now and then an expedition was made to beat up the neighboring islands. At daylight on the 5th of May I landed on Pinckney island with two hundred men of the 52d and 104th and skirmished over it, while the armed transports shelled the wood. The armed steamer Thomas Foulk entered the Colleton river and shelled the enemy's pickets on the main land. One man was left behind, who I believe was recovered a few days afterward. On the 9th I visited and inspected fort Pulaski, and dined with major Bailey, the commandant. The fort bore numerous indications of the severity of the bombardment in March,



1862, when it was taken. It had only been partially repaired. The walls retained the shot and shell holes which, at a distance, gave it the appearance of being pitted with small-pox. A complete breach was made in the walls, and when the fort was surrendered our projectiles were reaching the magazine on the opposite side of the parade. Our batteries were erected on Tybee island, the nearest one being a mile off. The siege was directed by captain, since major-general, Gillmore, who first taught the world in these operations that it was not necessary for American guns to be brought within six hundred yards of walls of masonry before they could be battered down. He won promotion and reputation by the skill he displayed there.

On the 11th, with two hundred men under lieutenant-colonel Hart of the 104th, I made an expedition to Dafuskee island, which lay outside our lines. No enemy was to be seen, but about four thousand pounds of fine sea-island cotton were found and fetched away. It was turned over to the agent of the treasury department at Hilton Head, and I suppose was sold and the proceeds paid to the government. The island was well skirminished over.

I was absent from the 14th of May to the 3d of June on a visit home on account of sickness in my family. General William Birney, who was on his way to Folly island, was placed in temporary command of my district in my absence. As soon as he was in authority he broke up my brigade organization, which had been formed by the commanding general of the army, and consolidated the district and put in one command. Mean while general Foster had come down to take command of the department, when general Hatch was assigned to the district. On my return I asked to be sent back to my regiment, and on the 6th I relieved lieutenant-colonel Hart, the first time since November, 1861, that I had had so small a command. I found the regiment much scattered, and not over a hundred men were in camp subject to my control. There were large details doing duty as provost, post and dock

guards. Company I was on Saint Helena, G in garrison at fort Beauregard, Bay point, F on picket at Braddock's point, and part of company K was stationed at Spanish wells, on Hilton Head island. Major Rogers, captain Pickering and lieutenant Fretz remained on duty at district head-quarters, lieutenant Shaffer was assistant provost marshal, and lieutenant Wiatt in command of the dock guard. The two details of post guard were respectively under the command of captains Groff and Laughlin. For the few days that I remained in charge of the regiment I enjoyed a sinecure, as I had neither men to command nor duties to perform. This thing did not last long, however. In a few days a new brigade was formed for me, consisting of the 41st and 157th New York and my own regiment.

On my return I found the men of the 104th very much incensed against general Birney. Soon after he assumed command of the district he issued an order to compel the negroes to come in from the neighboring plantations to work on the fortifications being erected at Hilton Head. At the same time he ordered a detail of six men from my regiment to cook for these negroes while engaged in this fatigue duty. They reported at his head-quarters in obedience to the order, but as the laborers could not be procured there was nothing for these white men to do in the way of preparing the meals for their black brothers. This detail was made from a white regiment at a time two negro regiments were encamped near where the work was to be done. There could have been no other motive in this than to degrade the white soldier and insult the regiment. That these men of the 104th were not obliged to cook the victuals of the South Carolina negroes was no fault of general Birney. Is it then a cause of wonder that he was heartily despised by the white troops?

On the 13th of June the 52d regiment was embarked for Folly island. That and the 104th had served together since the beginning of November, 1861, and its removal was the separation of old

friends. In this time many attachments had been formed which will last as long as the parties live. Side by side the two regiments had marched, encamped and fought for two years and a half. On Sunday, the 19th, a private of the 41st New York was shot for desertion. The execution took place just outside the fortifications, and in the presence of the whole garrison. The shooting party was detailed from the 104th. Among the improvements erected at Hilton Head, since I first saw it in January, 1863, was a theatre, which was mainly built through the efforts of the officers and men of the 48th New York regiment. A company, composed mainly of enlisted men, played there from time to time, to relieve the dulness of garrison life. The music was furnished by the post band, all its members being fine performers. These performances were always well attended. While on duty at this post, the 104th organized a troupe called the "Star Minstrels, which performed a few times in the theatre. On the first occasion, the evening of the 21st of June, the house was much crowded, and the receipts amounted to two hundred dollars. Just outside the lines was a negro settlement called Mitchelville, inhabited by several hundred contrabands, and which had grown up within the last eighteen months. The government furnished them with lumber to build houses, and many of these darkies received rations from the subsistence department. Hilton Head being the seat of department head-quarters, the presence of troops on shore, and more or less men-of-war in the harbor, gave it considerable life and activity. There were always ladies enough sojourning here to form a pleasant female society. The post band played several airs every evening on the square, while regimental or brigade bands played at stated times each day. There were attractions enough to make it pleasant to civilians who admire that kind of life. While stationed at Hilton Head, on this occasion, several of the drafted men and substitutes who had been sailors, were transferred to the navy by order of the war department.

The latter part of June general Foster received instructions from

Washington city to make an attack on Charleston with all his disposable force, as soon as it could be got ready. This movement had a two-fold object in view—to direct the attention of the enemy from Sherman, who was marching on Atlanta, and to prevent re-enforcements being sent from the Southern Atlantic coast to general Lee. It soon leaked out that active operations were to be renewed, but we could not learn the destination of the expedition being fitted out. On the 30th instant I was ordered to hold my brigade in readiness to embark the next morning at a moment's notice. The 144th New York had been assigned to me for this occasion, instead of the 41st. The men were to carry three days' cooked rations, and six days of hard-bread, sugar and coffee were to be carried along in bulk. The necessary preparations were made immediately, and by the morrow we were ready to go aboard. I organized a battalion of sharpshooters, one hundred and fifty strong, which was placed under the command of captain Laughlin. The officers and men were to go in light marching order. The 104th embarked the afternoon of the 1st of July, on the steamer *Cosmopolitan*, which also carried general Foster and staff. The balance of the brigade embarked on other steamers. Troops were taken from all points along the coast, wherever they could be spared; and those from all places south, and from Beaufort, assembled in the harbor of Port Royal. We got under weigh about sunset, without knowing our destination. After running 30 minutes south-east of the light ship, I opened the secret instructions that had been given me before going on board, when I found that our place of landing was to be North Edisto, and that the point of attack was Charleston.

The attack was to be made by four separate columns, moving from as many points. On the right a thousand men were to be thrown from Morris island on to the head of James, in boats, to assault fort Johnson. Another column of about 2,500 men, under general Schemmelpinneg, were to move up the Stono river, land on the south end of James' island and attack the enemy's works near

Secessionville. A third column, under general Hatch, composed of the brigade of general Saxton and my own, was to land on Seabrook's island from the North Edisto, thence march across that and John's island, and thus approach Charleston to advantage by flanking the heavy batteries on James' island. The fourth column, under general Birney, and composed wholly of negro troops, was to ascend the Dawhoo in boats to the main land, where it was to disembark and cut the Charleston and Savannah railroad at a point where it crosses the Rantoul's creek by an important bridge. This would prevent re-enforcements reaching the enemy from Savannah, the nearest point whence they could be drawn. This column was to be accompanied by the engineers who marched prepared to destroy the track of the railroad and blow up the bridges in a very short time. The whole force was about eight thousand men. The naval force on that station acted in concert and rendered every possible assistance. The plan was well conceived, and had the directions of general Foster been observed and carried out, I believe that Charleston would have fallen into our hands. As I have chiefly to do with the column of general Hatch, I will proceed to narrate its operations.

His division was about three thousand strong, of which two were regiments of negro troops of Saxton's brigade. We made the Edisto bar about 2 o'clock a. m., on the 2nd of July, but as we could not find the buoy in the dark, were obliged to lay to until it was light enough to see to run in. I commenced disembarking my men at 5½ o'clock and in an hour all were on shore. The 144th New York, colonel Slidell, was sent forward four miles to seize the bridge at Haulover cut, which separates Seabrook's island from John's. I followed him shortly afterward with the balance of the brigade. He found that the bridge had been burned some time before, and as the water was deep when the tide was in it, it had to be rebuilt before wagons and artillery could pass over. Lieutenant Lehnen, quartermaster of the 104th, with the regimental pioneers, was assigned to

this duty. In two hours a bridge was completed, sixty two feet span and strong enough to bear artillery and cavalry. The brigade bivouacked on John's island, with pickets well thrown out. The mounted scouts of the enemy were in sight, who watched all our movements closely. Before dark a squadron of the 4th Massachusetts cavalry reported to me and bivouacked with us. General Hatch joined us the next morning and assumed command of the column. The two negro regiments of Saxton's brigade, the 9th and 26th, came up during the night, while the remaining regiment, the 56th New York and the battery, which had been delayed by their steamer grounding on Port Royal bar, joined us the morning of the 3rd, just before we marched.

My brigade marched at 8 o'clock, a. m. After marching four miles the column was halted, to await the coming up of Saxton's brigade. The point was Parker's, near a large white farm house. The infantry was formed in line of battle on each side of the road, with a piece of artillery unlimbered in the road. The island hereabouts was heavily timbered, with some cleared fields in front. Close to where we bivouacked a road turns off that leads down to the Stono river. Soon after we halted an officer reported that there was a re-enforcement of four pieces of artillery, thirty cavalry, and two hundred infantry within four miles, on the Stono road, which had been sent from general Schemmelphennig's column. They were ordered to report to me. They were not able to unite with us, however, until the next day. The artillery had been sent back to the Stono to get forage for the horses, as they had had none for two days, and we had not a pound to spare them. Toward evening I sent a small party of cavalry to the front to reconnoitre the country, which advanced up the main road three miles. Here they found a force of the enemy's infantry deployed in a wood, and as they had no orders to engage him, they returned to camp and reported. Saxton's brigade arrived at sunset. As the day was now spent, and the country and force in our front entirely unknown, general Hatch



determined to pass the night here. Pickets were thrown out on all sides, and the men lay down to sleep, in line of battle, with their equipments on, and their arms by their sides.

The night passed away quietly. The troops were astir before daylight preparing for an early march. It was resumed at 5 o'clock. It had been the original intention of general Hatch to continue on the main road until we struck the Wadmelaw, when turning to the right, march up the island, with our left flank covered by that river. But there was now reason to change our direction. Since we had disembarked, the base of supplies had been transferred from the North Edisto to the Stono, and by continuing on the road we were then on, we would have left our rear exposed and given the enemy an opportunity to cut off our retreat to our transports. Our situation became apparent on examining the map, and it was resolved to change our route by making a flank march from our then position so as to strike the Stono, and thence march direct on Charleston. The order to march to the front was countermanded, and I was directed to lead the column to the right.

This was the 4th of July, and the day was intensely hot. I do not remember to have marched a hotter day during my service, not even in Mexico. The road on either side was hedged in with bushes or wood, and as there was not a breath of air to carry off the dust raised by the column, it settled down upon and completely enveloped the troops. This march, short as it was, was a good trial of the endurance of the two races. While all the troops suffered greatly, the two negro regiments suffered much more than the white ones. The poor blacks dropped down by scores from exhaustion and heat of the sun, and could not stand, in their native clime, the same amount of fatigue as white men. The march was not more than six miles, and yet the two negro regiments did not reach our bivouac with one third their numbers. We halted about 9 o'clock on a plantation at the head of the road which comes up from Legareville. Here we met the re-enforcements from the co-



lumn of general Schemmelphennig. My little battalion of sharpshooters did excellent service. They led the column and skirmished over the country on both flanks for some distance. With such troops in advance it was impossible to be surprised.

We were unfortunate in losing surgeon Robinson, who was captured by the enemy. He was not informed of the change in the route, which was determined on but a short time before the column took up the march. On my return from the quarters of general Hatch I stopped at the doctor's bivouac to explain to him the change of direction; but I was not able to see him, as he was out among the troops treating them to their quinine and whiskey.—Captain Corcoran had been on picket with his company over night and his men had not finished their breakfast when the column marched. He was directed to follow as soon as ready and overtake us. He did not observe that we turned short to the right soon after we left the bivouac, and when he came to march he continued on the main road up the island. Dr. Robinson, who had been detained with the sick, accompanied him. After going about two miles the captain was convinced that he had missed the road and halted his company. The doctor feeling certain that the column was not far ahead said he would ride on, overtake it, and have it to halt for him to come up. He had ridden but a short distance when he saw two horsemen ahead, whom he supposed to be our videts. When he overtook them, in the edge of the timber, they presented their rifles and ordered him to dismount and approach. As he drew near he saw the Confederate gray, and found himself a prisoner of war in the hands of the Stono rangers. He was carried to the commanding officer, major Walker, thence to the head-quarters of the district, whence he was taken to Charleston and confined in the jail with a number of other prisoners. He was kept a prisoner about three months, when he was unconditionally released. He speaks of the treatment of the enemy as universally kind and respectful. At the time of his capture the doctor was riding what

was known in the regiments as "Fred's mule." This was a splendid little animal that private Lefler had found in a dying condition on Folly island, the year before, and which he had taken care of and cured. As he was the mail boy of the brigade the mule did considerable service, and the men had become much attached to him. It is said that when some one informed him of the capture of the doctor, Lefler said, "What do I care for doctor Robinson? Hav'nt I lost my mule?"

Captain Corcoran marched no further on that road, as he was convinced the troops had not passed that way. Soon the skirmishers of the enemy appeared in his front and engaged him. He sent a man to hunt the column while he fell back gradually, driving in the enemy as he retired. A force was sent back to relieve him, with an ambulance to bring in the broken down men. They reached our camp with the rear-guard without any loss. We saw a few of the enemy's videts, who succeeded in wounding one of our cavalymen in the ankle. We remained at this bivouac all night. In the afternoon we had a heavy shower of rain which cooled the atmosphere and made the heat much more bearable. The surgeons prepared soup for the whole command, from desiccated vegetables, and each officer and man was served with a tin-cup full. It did much toward recovering the troops from the effects of the heat and fatigue.

We resumed the march on the morning of the 5th, my brigade leading. Before we left camp the sick, of which there was a considerable number, were sent in ambulances down to the Stono to be shipped for Hilton Head. General Hatch and staff marched with the second brigade. I was directed to advance to a certain swamp, which the road crossed on a bridge, six or eight miles in front, where I was to halt and await further orders. I reached this point, which we learned was afterward called the "Huts," about 8 o'clock, a. m. Nearly the whole distance lay through a timbered country, traversed now and then by a swamp. We saw no enemy until we approached

our destination, when our cavalry came upon two mounted videts on the bridge, who scampered off under a volley of rifles. Here I halted my command. I secured the crossing and then sent a party of cavalymen and sharp-shooters to take possession of the timber and open country half a mile in our front. Here the picket line was established, and until other arrangements could be made its security was intrusted to captain Laughlin and his trusty corps of sharp-shooters. Two pieces of artillery were placed in position at the bridge to command the approaches to it and the crossing, one in the field and the other in the road. A guard, in addition, was stationed there, while the balance of the command was a few hundred yards to the rear.

In the afternoon a force of the enemy, estimated at one hundred and fifty or two hundred, was seen advancing across the fields in our front. I sent out captain Laughlin with his sharp-shooters to meet them; who drove them back and established his lines on the ground they had occupied. Towards evening I caused some rifle-pits to be thrown up to protect our position and pickets were thrown out in every direction, and the men were ordered to bivouac in line of battle with their equipments on. General Saxton's brigade joined us about dark. On his way up he had left six companies of negro troops at a point where a by-road comes into the main one, to prevent the enemy getting into our rear. In the afternoon they were attacked by some infantry, with a piece of artillery, driven back toward Legareville and cut off from the main body. When this was known, general Saxton was ordered back to their relief. Mean while the enemy had retired and we did not have an opportunity to engage him. The detachment had a few men killed and wounded. He did not reach the front again until the next forenoon. General Hatch joined us about dark and took the immediate command. At different times during the afternoon the enemy threw shells among us from a field battery a mile in front, and a few were thrown from some of their flanking batteries on James'

island. Our position was so well concealed by the surrounding timber that they could only guess at it, and their firing was with the hope that our guns would reply and expose it. About 9 o'clock word was brought from the front that the enemy was advancing, and the proper disposition was made to receive him, but no demonstration was made beyond firing a few shots and making considerable noise. Head-quarters were moved into an old frame house that stood near the crossing of the swamp. The night passed without further disturbance.

The next morning, the 6th, the enemy opened upon us with a six, twelve, and twenty-four pounder and shelled us for an hour. Two men only were wounded. After breakfast, with general Hatch and staff, I mounted my horse and rode to the front. I was requested to assist in making a reconnoissance with the view of the possible erection of batteries to enfilade those of the enemy on James' island. When we reached the front, we found he had brought down a field battery within about half a mile, which was firing quite briskly. This was an unfortunate morning for me. I got on an embankment at the side of the road which ran through our picket line and was examining the battery with a field glass. One piece was directly in front of me, and I was looking into the muzzle while the gunners were loading it. I was standing, at the time, with the left hand resting against a small tree and the body thrown forward on the right leg. The enemy saw me very distinctly and trained this particular gun on me. I did not notice them in the act of firing, but hearing a soldier near me call out "cover," I drew myself up near the sapling just as the piece was discharged. It was fortunate that I did, otherwise I had been killed. The shell exploded a few feet in front, the largest piece burying itself in the tree, and another fragment passing through my right hand carrying away the fingers and lacerating the limb. The glass was not injured nor did the shock cause me to let go my hold on it. Immediately afterward the battery commenced to fire canister, which

swept our position. I was carried on a stretcher to the head-quarter house where the fragments of the fingers were cut off with a dull knife in cold blood, and thence in the same manner two miles down to the Stono and placed on board the steam boat Peco-  
nia. That afternoon the necessary amputations were made by a surgeon of the navy, assisted by the assistant surgeon of the New York volunteer engineers. I was partially under the influence of chloroform at the time, but nevertheless could hear the bones crack without feeling any pain. The next day I was sent to Beaufort in the revenue cutter Omaha, and placed in the officers' hospital, where my wound was most carefully attended by surgeon Burton of the 3rd Rhode Island artillery.

## CHAPTER XXV.

Attempt to take rebel battery.—Battle of John's island.—Enemy repulsed.—Our forces withdrawn.—Plan of attack on Charleston.—Reason of failure.—Colonel Davis comes north.—Men kept in service over their time.—The regiment goes to Florida.—Ordered to Washington.—Money to erect monument.—Regiment mustered out of service.—Sketch of battalion that remained in service.

**D**URING the next two days the enemy kept up a brisk cannonade upon our position, but with little loss on our side. As our guns were not permitted to go to the front to silence his pieces, it was deemed advisable to attempt their capture. The 26th regiment, negro troops, was selected for this duty, and the attempt was made on the afternoon of the 8th. The effort failed with considerable loss. The attack was badly planned and worse executed. There was courage enough displayed to have made it successful, but there was a great lack of judgment in handling the troops. Several were killed, more wounded, and some were made prisoners.

From the tops of the trees about head-quarters the movements of the enemy could be overlooked. Several boat-loads of troops were seen to land upon the island from the main land, and other indications that led to the belief that an attack upon our forces would not be long delayed. While we held our present position the enemy was in danger. Our gunboats were in the Stono river shelling his batteries, and the troops threatened to turn his works on James' island. The evening of the 8th we were re-enforced by the

arrival of the 8th and 34th negro regiments, under colonel Montgomery, from James' island. This was Friday. That night our pickets were strengthened and other ordinary precautions taken to prevent surprise, as it was believed that an attack would be made in the next twenty-four hours. About 4 o'clock the next morning, under cover of a heavy fog, the enemy surprised our pickets by a large force and drove them in to the main body. Several of our men were killed and wounded. The enemy followed them closely. The noise and firing at the front alarmed the camps, and the troops were soon aroused and in line. Our position was the same as that taken up on the morning of our arrival on the ground. Two guns were stationed at the bridge which commanded the road, while the infantry was in rifle-pits on both sides of it along the edge of the swamp. The remainder of the guns was stationed at convenient positions for shelling.

The enemy came down the road in a great mass, running and yelling, in pursuit of our flying pickets, and did not discover our guns at the bridge until they opened, at the distance of less than a hundred yards, with a double charge of canister. Our men were so hard pushed that they did not have time to remove the plank from the bridge. The enemy was immediately checked with great slaughter, but deployed in the timber, on the right and left, and commenced a general attack. The action lasted two hours, when he retired, being repulsed at all points. His loss must have been heavy, as his men fought desperately and at close quarters. He made a great effort to drive us from our position. All that day he was seen from our look-out in the tree-tops carrying off the killed and wounded in ambulances and on stretchers. A particularly fine shot was made during the action by lieutenant Wildt, commanding a New York battery, with one of his pieces. A sharp-shooter of the enemy had fixed himself in the top of a tree, within close range of our pieces at the bridge, and his balls were annoying our gunners without knowing where they came from. Presently he was







Philip Burke

pointed out. The lieutenant caused a gun to be loaded nearly full of canister, and elevated so as to strike the tree about where the man sat. It was directed with accurate aim and fired. The tree was cut off just below him and they came to the ground together. Our loss was not over a hundred in killed and wounded. During the operations on the island the loss of the 104th was one officer killed and two officers and nine men wounded. The one killed was lieutenant Burke, of company G. His was a hard case. He had just been promoted after nearly three years' faithful service. His commission had been handed him the day before, and he had not had an opportunity to be mustered in. He was placed on duty as an officer, and was killed while on picket. A rebel soldier mounted a bank near where Burke was rallying the men, and seeing his activity took deliberate aim and shot him through the head. His body was not recovered. That night the island was evacuated. The troops were quietly withdrawn after dark to the Stono, where they embarked on transports under cover of gunboats. The expedition was abandoned. It had resulted like all previous attempts to take Charleston, in failure, and mainly because the orders were not carried out.

As already mentioned, it was intended that the attack should be made in four columns. Commencing on the right, colonel Gurney, commanding on Morris island, with assistance from the navy was to throw a thousand men, in boats, across to the head of James' island and capture fort Johnson under cover of the darkness. In place of this only one hundred and fifty men of the 52d Pennsylvania regiment, under colonel Hoyt and lieutenant-colonel Conyugham, were landed on the island just before daylight. They attacked with great gallantry, but after a partial success were all made prisoners, with some loss in killed and wounded. Colonel Gurney, himself, did not accompany his command, and I am informed by officers engaged that he did not consult the navy as to the tide and channel as he should have done. This was the most important point of attack

in the operations, and failed. Success here would have given us success elsewhere. This took place on the morning of the 4th of July. The conduct of colonel Gurney was afterward investigated before a court of inquiry and he was censured.

The column of general Schemmelphinnege landed on the lower end of James' island from the Stono river at the time agreed upon, and attacked the enemy's lines. He captured a small battery with two guns, and took a few prisoners, but failed to force the main works. His force remained on the island until operations were concluded, and annoyed the enemy from time to time. The force under general William Birney went in transports up the Dawhoo to White's point, where he landed under cover of some light draft gun-boats which accompanied him. General Foster went with this column. The landing was not opposed. After the column was formed it took the road to Rantoul's bridge, on the main, crossed by the Charleston and Savannah railroad. After marching a short distance their progress was arrested by a battery which the enemy had built across the road. After making a feeble effort to silence it, general Birney retired to his transports and embarked his forces. A naval battery, manned by sailors from the gunboats, accompanied the column. When the retreat was ordered the sailors were not notified, and kept their ground. They drew their pieces back by hand, some two miles, and embarked in safety. The column was composed of negroes, the favorite troops of general Birney, and yet the reason he gave general Foster for retiring was that he had no confidence in his men. Foster was very much displeased at the conduct of Birney, so much so that he was relieved of his command and sent back to Florida. Colonel Montgomery was placed in command of his brigade, which was withdrawn to James' island. The failure of the supporting columns was the occasion of the withdrawal of Hatch's division from John's island.

This expedition should have been a success. I have no doubt that Charleston would have fallen, had the orders of general Foster

been carried out. If the John's island column had been properly pushed, it could have secured a position at the head of the island on the 5th of July. The enemy was completely deceived by our flank march from Parker's to the Stono, as they had made arrangements to resist us with the small force at their command on the other road. My brigade reached the Huts, on the morning of the 5th, about 8 a. m., only five miles from the city, where I was ordered to halt until the general came up, which was not until dark. At this time there was no force in my front except two or three hundred mounted men, known as the Stono rangers, and a four gun battery. Our united force was full three thousand infantry, besides two four gun batteries, and a small squadron of cavalry. It should have been kept closed up and pushed on to the head of the island. My own brigade, fifteen hundred strong, with four guns, was kept inactive twelve hours, and thus the golden opportunity was lost. Meanwhile the enemy telegraphed for troops to oppose us, and we lay there doing nothing until a brigade was brought from Atlanta, Georgia, with which, and some additional troops from the neighboring islands they attacked us on the morning of the 9th, Saturday. During Friday re-enforcements from Charleston were seen coming across the Ashley river, on steamboats, and landing on the head of John's island. On abandoning the expedition the troops were sent to their former location, the 104th occupying their old camp at Hilton Head. I remained in hospital until the 17th, when I took the steamer for New York on a thirty days' leave of absence. The regiment was left in command of lieutenant-colonel Hart, which he retained for the remainder of its enlistment. I did not again re-join it for duty. When sufficiently recovered from my wound to do light duty, I was detailed on general court-martial at Philadelphia, where I remained until the regiment was mustered out of service.

In the 104th were a number of men who enlisted in the summer of 1862, for the unexpired term of the regiment, expecting to be

discharged with it in the fall of 1864. They were recruited with this understanding. As the time approached when it would be mustered out, these men were anxious to know what would be their fate, as some question had been raised as to their right to discharge. On the 18th of June I laid their case before the war department in a respectful communication, in which I argued their right to be mustered out with the regiment, inasmuch as they had only enlisted for the unexpired term. I stated the whole case fully with the previous decision of the department on the question. It was referred to the adjutant general of the army for his final action. Two months afterward the papers were returned to general Foster with an endorsement that I had been guilty of insubordination in bringing the matter before him. This was the first occasion I ever knew that an officer was guilty of an offence in laying the grievances of his men before the proper authorities, and asking to have them corrected. Here the matter rested and the men served out their full three years. A case precisely similar was presented from Massachusetts. In 1862 her regiments were filled up in the same way, for their unexpired term, and when the question was referred to the war department it was decided in favor of the soldier, and it was announced that that State was the only one in whose favor an exception had been made. This appeared like an unfair discrimination in favor of New England.

The 104th remained at Hilton Head doing garrison and fatigue duty until the last of July, when it was ordered to Florida to relieve some troops that were being sent north. General Hatch, who had been sent down to replace general Birney in command of the district, selected it to accompany him. The regiment was stretched along the rail road guarding it from Jacksonville to Baldwin, where three companies were stationed. The weather was warm, but the duty was not particularly arduous, being principally engaged on picket and fatigue. The last of August several regiments from the department of the South were sent north, of which the 104th was

one. It was ordered to Washington city and landed from the steamer at Alexandria, when it was assigned to the fortifications on the south side of the Potomac. It was attached to the brigade of colonel Heine. Here it remained until its term of enlistment expired.

There was some misunderstanding with the war department as to the time the regiment was entitled to its discharge. The commissary of musters at Hilton Head had received notice that it was not entitled to be mustered out until the 16th of October, twenty-four days after the expiration of the term of service for which the men had enlisted. This caused much dissatisfaction and created an angry feeling toward the department. I addressed the adjutant general of the army on the subject, but could not get the order rescinded. A subsequent personal application was more successful, and an order was obtained for its muster out on the 23rd of September. Ten days before this time I visited the regiment and carried the order with me, which gave great satisfaction to both officers and men. Preparatory to being mustered out the fragments of the ten companies to remain were consolidated into a battalion of five companies, numbering about four hundred men, consisting principally of the conscripts and substitutes who had joined on Morris' island. They were placed in command of lieutenant-colonel Hart, while the company officers were selected from among those who had not served three years in their present commissions.

On the occasion of my visit to the regiment at this time, the enlisted men did an act that reflected great credit on them. For a long time I had been exceedingly anxious to raise the means to erect a monument to the memory of the dead of the regiment. It had been brought before a meeting of officers on Morris' island, but was postponed for the present. During the last year of service, by a system of economy in the management of our bakery, there had accumulated a regimental fund of nearly two thousand dollars. This money belonged to the enlisted men, must be divided among them



when the regiment should be mustered out, and could not be used for any other purpose than that pointed out by Army Regulations without their consent. I wrote to the war department to know whether all, or a portion, of this money could be appropriated by the regimental council of administration to build the monument, if the enlisted men gave their consent, and in reply I was informed that it could be done. While I was with the regiment on this occasion the men unanimously adopted a resolution authorizing the council to appropriate sixteen hundred dollars for this object. The money has been invested in government securities, with some additions by contributions, until the time it may be thought best to erect the monument.

The regiment left Washington for Philadelphia, to be mustered out of service on the 23d of September, and arrived Sunday morning, the 25th, and quartered at the Volunteer Refreshment Saloon. The separation between those who were coming home, and those who remained in service, took place at the depot in Washington, whither the battalion of five companies had come, on their way to join Sheridan in the valley of Virginia. On the afternoon of the 27th the city authorities gave the regiment a formal reception, and under an escort was marched through various streets, which were crowded by the citizens. On Saturday, the 1st of October, the old organization of the 104th came to an end, for on that afternoon the officers and men were mustered out of service, paid off and discharged from the military service of the United States. They separated immediately, and those who had been closely united for three years amid dangers and hardships, bade good-by, many of them never to meet again on this side the grave. A considerable number came up to Doylestown in the evening train, where they were handsomely received and took supper in the court house. Richard Watson, Esq., made the speech of welcome. The entertainment was mainly gotten up through the exertions of the ladies. The night was very stormy, but nevertheless there was a large assem-

blage present to receive their friends and relatives who had returned from the battle-field.

This closes the old organization of the 104th, but the history of the regiment will not be complete without some notice of the battalion which remained in service. As I have none of the official records of this period to refer to, the account of it must necessarily be brief, as well as imperfect. For the information on which it is written, I am indebted to lieutenant-colonel Hart, who remained in command of the battalion, and lieutenant-colonel Kephart, who succeeded him.

As before mentioned, the men who remained in service were formed into five companies, with a battalion organization. The officers detailed to remain, because their then present commissions had a greater or less time to run were, lieutenant-colonel Hart, surgeon Robinson, assistant surgeon Brush and quartermaster Lehnert, as field and staff, with the following company officers, viz.: captains Kephart, Groff, Laughlin and Scarborough, and lieutenants Glase, Williams, Tyson, O'Connell, Widdifield, Michener, Garren, Conner and Walker. Lieutenant Widdifield was appointed adjutant, which position he held until the close of the war.

Colonel Hart, with his battalion, left Washington city at noon on the 24th of September, and reached Harper's Ferry the next morning, Sunday, before daylight. On reporting to general Stevenson, the commandant, he was directed to march his command to Bolivar Heights, on the opposite side of the river, and report to colonel Heine, 103d New York. The battalion now numbered about two hundred men and five company officers. Two or three days afterward colonel Heine, with a brigade of four thousand men, started to escort a train of six hundred wagons to general Sheridan's army at Harrisonburg. The column marched from twenty to twenty-five miles a-day, passing Charlestown, Winchester and other well-known places, and reached the point of destination in safety. Along the road between Winchester and Harrisonburg were seen many evidences of battle and

the hasty flight of the enemy. The last day's march, burning barns were seen in every direction.

Heine's brigade was now assigned to the 3d division of the 6th corps, general Ricketts commanding. Shortly the whole army fell back toward Harper's Ferry. It rested a couple of days near Strasburg, whence the 6th corps was sent to Front Royal. Colonel Heine, with the 10th New York Heavy Artillery, 103d New York, and the 104th Pennsylvania, were left to guard the pass through the mountains, while the army continued to fall back toward Winchester. The same day an order was received from general Sheridan for the brigade to be at Middletown the next morning at daylight, which point was reached at that time. The 6th corps came up soon afterward. Heine's brigade was again detached and placed in charge of a train for Martinsburg. It left the army on the morning of the 17th of October, and reached Martinsburg about dark, a distance of forty-two miles. While the train was loading, the battle of Cedar creek was fought on the 19th, and at that distance the roar of the artillery could be distinctly heard. A number of the men of the 104th, about enough to form a company, who had come up after the regiment had left with the train, took part in the battle, under command of captain Kephart. Five of them were wounded, but I have not been able to learn their names. About the 1st of November colonel Hart, with his battalion, was ordered to report to colonel Bassitt, at Martinsburg, and get ready to proceed to Philadelphia, to vote at the coming Presidential election. The 104th was incorporated into a brigade, consisting of that regiment and the 84th, 92d and 119th Pennsylvania. The march from Winchester to Martinsburg, thirty miles, was made in twelve hours. While the regiment was in the valley, it was engaged in very arduous service, being nearly all the time on the march. In many instances the men were barefooted.

The regiment reached Philadelphia in the night and was sent out to camp Cadwallader, where no preparations had been made to

receive them. The camp ground was almost afloat and the tents were pitched in mud and water. After the Presidential election the brigade was ordered back to Winchester, where lieutenant-colonel Hart was mustered out and honorably discharged from the service by reason of having served out his full term.

On the retirement of lieutenant-colonel Hart, captain Kephart, the ranking officer, assumed command of the battalion, on the 20th of November, at Summit point. He was afterward promoted to the vacant lieutenant-colonel's commission. On the 22d Heine's division, of which the 104th again formed a part, was ordered to join the army of the Potomac in front of Richmond. It was stationed on the Bermuda front, about the centre of the line between the Appomattox and the James' rivers. Here it remained during the winter, and participated in all the dangers and hardships incident to the operations of the army. Picket duty was incessant and severe, and the soldiers of the two armies were engaged in almost daily conflict. During the winter the battalion was raised to a full regiment by the addition of five new companies, commanded by the following officers, viz:—Captain Johnson, from Blair county; captain Fredrick, from Armstrong; captain Kantner, from Schuylkill; captain Rankin, from Dauphin; and captain McCanna, from Pittsburgh. They were composed of good material. Lieutenant-colonel Kephart was now commissioned colonel, but was never mustered in his new grade.

The regiment was engaged in the operations on the 3d and 4th of April, when the advance was made on Petersburg and Richmond which led to the route and surrender of the rebel army. On the fall of Petersburg it was sent into that town and formed part of the garrison until about the 20th of April, when it was ordered to report at fortress Monroe. After remaining there four days it was sent to Norfolk, where it was in garrison until mustered out of service. This took place on the 25th of August, 1865. The men were then sent to Philadelphia, where they were paid off and discharged. At

the time of the muster-out of the regiment the five companies that had belonged to the old organization were commanded respectively by the following officers, viz:—Company A, lieutenant Wigton; B, captain Glase; C, captain Scarborough; D, lieutenant Dyer; and H, captain Bitting. When captain Kephart was promoted on the muster out of lieutenant-colonel Hart, captain Laughlin was commissioned and mustered as major. The other field and staff officers remained the same as already mentioned. I am not able to give the various changes among the commissioned officers during this period, but I am informed that some forty new commissions were issued during the nine months the battalion and regiment were under the command of lieutenant-colonel Kephart. The absence of official records and other data prevent me giving many particulars that would be interesting both to the members of the regiment and the general reader.

Before I conclude I deem it necessary to say a few words about the labors of chaplain Gries. The regiment was fortunate in having such an excellent chaplain. Neither officer nor man was more faithful in the discharge of his duties. He served out his full term of three years, and was very seldom absent from the regiment unless on duty. During this time he held more than a thousand religious exercises. He preached every Sunday in camp, with prayer-meeting and a short address every evening when possible. Besides these he held special service in the hospital. For a long time he was the only chaplain on duty with the brigade, and he alone held daily and continuous services among the troops. For a considerable period during the operations on Morris island he was the only chaplain in that army to officiate at the burial of the dead. For a time he was engaged in this duty nearly every hour in the day. While connected with the regiment Mr. Gries baptized and received into the church fifty-nine soldiers and one officer: the latter and one soldier belonged to the 52d regiment, but all the rest to the 104th.

My task is now done. The 104th Pennsylvania regiment will live in history and in the memory of those who served in it. There never was an organization that contained a finer body of men, and no regiment in the Federal army bore truer faith to the great cause it espoused, and is more worthy to be honored in the annals of the Republic.





# APPENDIX.

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# ROSTER

OF THE

Commissioned and Non-Commissioned

## OFFICERS, MUSICIANS, AND PRIVATES

OF THE

### 104TH PENNSYLVANIA REGIMENT.

#### FIELD AND STAFF, NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF, AND BAND.

##### FIELD AND STAFF.

W. W. H. Davis, Colonel, Doylestown, Pa.  
 John W. Nields, Lt. Colonel, West Chester, Pa.  
 John M. Gries, Major, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Thompson D. Hart, Adjutant, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 James D. Hendrie, Quarter Master, Doylestown, Pa.  
 William Allen Peck, Surgeon, Phoenixville, Pa.  
 William T. Robinson, Asst. Surgeon, Montgomery Co., Pa.  
 William R. Gries, Chaplain, Doylestown.

##### NON-COMMISSIONED STAFF.

Edmund A. Wallazz, Sergt. Major, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Robert Holmes, Q. M. Sergt., Doylestown, Pa.  
 James M. Rogers, Com. Sergt., do  
 John Hargrave, Principal Musician, Doylestown, Pa.  
 Joseph Winner, " " Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Michael E. Jenks, Wagon Master, Newtown, Pa.

##### BAND

John Z. Jobst, Leader, Lehigh Co., Pa.

##### PRIVATES.

Albright, Stephen E.,	Lehigh Co., Pa.	Cox, William,	Bucks Co., Pa.
Dankel, Samuel,	do do	Druckenmiller, John J. W.,	Lehigh do
Engleman, Sylvester,	do do	Gallagher, Henry H.,	New Jersey.
Gorr, George H.,	do do	Knauss, Harman S.,	Lehigh Co., Pa.
Lewis, Joseph M.,	Bucks do	Mann, John E.,	Bucks do
Richart, Jacob,	Lehigh do		

Seip, William S.,	Lehigh Co., Pa.	Rohs, William,	Lehigh Co., Pa.
Tool, Henry S.,	do do	Spoenheimer, Lewis,	do do
Tool, Eugene T.,	do do	Tool Albert S.,	do do
Widrig, James H.,	do do	Peter, William,	do do
		Knauss, Harrison E.,	do do

## COMPANY "A."

Edward L. Rogers, Captain, Doylestown, Bucks Co., Pa.  
 Henry W. Heaney, 1st Lieutenant, do do do  
 Robert Holmes, 2nd do Philadelphia, Pa.

## SERGEANTS.

Jeremiah P. Schindel, Lehigh Co., Pa. | Edwin Fretz, Doylestown, Pa.  
 John McD. Laughlin, Bucks do | Charles Eckhardt, Germantown, do

## CORPORALS.

Charles Toy, Montgomery Co., Pa. | Joseph M. Wiatt, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Amos G. Hill, Bucks do | John J. Wigton, Bucks Co., Pa.  
 Thomas B. Widdifield, do do | Mordecai B. Smith, do do  
 Andrew, J. C. Terry, do do | Jacob Hanifius, Lebanon do

## MUSICIANS.

William A. Nagle, Port Carbon, Pa. | Joseph H. Straub, Philadelphia, Pa.

## PRIVATEs.

Algard, Jeremiah,	Bucks Co., Pa.	Kelley, Patrick,	Ireland.
Angeny, Abraham,	do do	Kile, Sylvester,	Bucks Co., Pa.
Arnold, Charles,	do do	Loux, Mathias J.,	do do
Bartleman, Fredolm,	Germany.	Layton, Lewis N. B.,	do do
Bartleman, Francis,	do	Lear, Thomas,	do do
Bauer, John,	do	Leister, Edwin,	do do
Benson, Robert E.,	Bucks Co., Pa.	Lewis, Nathan,	do do
Bilbee, George W.,	Luzerne do	Livezey, John D.,	do do
Brierly, James,	England.	Malsbury, William,	do do
Brown, Wm.,	Montgomery Co., Pa.	Martindale, W. Yerkes,	do do
Bertles, Jacob,	Bucks Co., Pa.	McIntosh, Edward,	Doylestown, Pa.
Campbell, Samuel A.,	do do	MellHenry, William,	do do
Cavanough, Wilson,	Philada., Pa.	McKinstry, Camillus	do do
Charles, Jacob K.,	Bucks Co., Pa.	Morgan, William A.,	Bucks Co., Pa.
Claffey, Patrick,	Ireland.	Naylor, Wm. H.,	Morristown, N. J.
Fryling, Isaac S.,	Bucks Co., Pa.	Nice, Daniel,	Bucks Co., Pa.
Fryling, Lawrence,	do do	Nice, John,	do do
Fryling, Levi,	do do	Parsons, Robert,	do do
Fryling, Wilson,	do do	Raisner, William A.,	do do
Gallagher, Henry,	Ireland.	Reamer, Joseph,	New York.
Gallagher, James,	Ireland.	Recht, Sebastian,	France.
Gordon, George W.,	Bucks Co., Pa.	Reynolds, Wm. A.,	Bucks Co., Pa.
Good, Thomas,	do do	Rice, James S.,	do do
Groom, Ramsey C.,	do do	Ruth, John,	do do
Gares, James,	do do	Sands, Joseph,	do do
Hargrave, James,	do do	Sellers, Gilbert S.,	do do
Hart, Joseph T.,	do do	Shaddinger, Harvey G.,	do do
Hellyer, Jesse S.,	do do	Slack, William P.,	Hunterdon, N. J.
Horn, Pearson A.,	New Hope, Pa.	Schlitt, Christian,	Germany.
Hoxworth, William,	Doylestown, do	Solliday, Charles,	Bucks Co., Pa.
Hubbard, Nathaniel,	do do	Stalcup, William H.,	Cecil Co., Md.
Hultz, John,	Philadelphia, Pa.	Stirk, Oliver J.,	Bucks Co., Pa.

Strouse, Jefferson,	Bucks Co., Pa.	Walter, Levi,	Bucks Co., Pa.
Seifert, Daniel,	Germany.	Walton, John,	do do
Silvey, Joseph,	Easton, Pa.	Whitcraft, Andrew,	Philadelphia, Pa.
Stokes, John L.,	Burlington, N. J.	Williams, Charles,	Bucks Co., Pa.
Terry, Andrew J.,	Philadelphia, Pa.	Wisler, John,	Montgomery do
Titus, William,	Bucks Co., Pa.	Wright, Leonard,	Bucks do
Torpy, Patrick,	Ireland.	Whitaker, Benj. R.,	Phoenixville, Pa.
Wall, Willis,	Bucks Co., Pa.	Williams, Miles,	Doylestown, do

## VOLUNTEER RECRUITS.

*Received after leaving Camp Lacey.*

## PRIVATES.

Cosner, George W.,	Bucks Co., Pa.	Nice, John,	Bucks Co., Pa.
Ent, George O.,	New Jersey.	Ruth, Harman Y.,	do do
Fryling, William H.,	Bucks Co., Pa.	Shaddinger, Lewis,	do do
Holcomb, Isaac,	do do	Shaddinger, William J.,	do do
Jacobs, John,	Germany.	Swartley, Henry,	do do
Janney Jacob,	Bucks Co., Pa.		

## CONSCRIPTS AND SUBSTITUTES.

*Received at Morris Island, S. C.*

Adcock, George M.,	Tennessee.	Long, Patrick,	Ireland.
Bear, Henry,	Pennsylvania.	McNeal, Wallace,	Pennsylvania.
Bewighouse, Abr.,	Bucks Co., Pa.	McGinley, James,	do
Clark, William,	Utica, N. Y.	Morgan, Nelson,	do
Cole, James,	Pennsylvania.	Mannion, John,	Ireland.
Duke, George,	Baltimore, Md.	Malcolm, James,	Denmark.
Drinks, Diedrich,	Prussia.	Nary, Patrick,	Ireland.
Donaldson, Andrew,	Scotland.	Pembleton, Isaac,	Pennsylvania.
Frantz, Lyman,	Pennsylvania.	Pembleton, Martin,	do
Graves, Reuben,	New York.	Sillick, William H.,	New York.
Hundermer, Christian,	Germany.	Sink, Cornelius,	Pennsylvania.
Harman, Paul,	Prussia.	Sponheimer,	do
Hoffey, Edward,	Ireland.	Van Wagner, Joseph,	Montreal, Can.
Johnson, George,	do	Whitcraft, Hamilton,	Pennsylvania.
Jones, William,	Pennsylvania.	Walter, Jacob,	do
Lonnon, Alfred W.,	do		

## COMPANY "B."

James R. Orem, Captain, Doylestown, Bucks Co., Pa.  
 Theophilus Kephart, 1st Lieutenant, Warrington, Bucks Co., Pa.  
 John H. McCoy, 2nd do Doylestown, do do

## SERGEANTS.

William P. Haney,	Doylestown, Pa.	Edwin S. Millis,	Doylestown, Pa.
Henry A. Widdifield,	do	Edwin S. Darling,	do
Charles L. Porter,	Philadelphia, Pa.		

## CORPORALS.

William Folis,	Doylestown, Pa.	John Ault,	New Britain, Pa.
Philip D. Swartly,	New Britain, do	Nelson McGraudy,	Warrington, do
William H. Ruth,	Buckingham, do	Wittingham Livezey,	Doylest'n, do
Oliver L. Clossen,	Illinois.	Andrew J. Connard,	Buckingham, do

## MUSICIANS.

Michael Corcoran, New York. | Lyeurgus Bryan, Doylestown, Pa.

## PRIVATES.

Allen, Reuben,	Doylestown, Pa.	Johnson, George W.,	Solebury, Pa.
Brinker, Jacob R.,	Warrington, do	Johnson, Edward R.,	Doylestown, do
Bartley, Charles,	Doylestown, do	Livzey, James,	do do
Batchelor, Franklin,	Horsham, do	Leister, Michael,	New Britain, do
Bothers, Moses,	Solebury, do	Myers, John G.,	Doylestown, do
Beal, Eleazar,	Doylestown, do	Mellick, William,	Montg'y Co., do
Beal, Charles,	do do	McCall, John,	Warrington, do
Bennett, Wm. S.,	Buckingham, do	Maier, John,	Hilltown, do
Connard, William,	do do	Oliver, William W.,	Gwynedd, do
Carver, Chapman,	do do	Priee, Frederick,	Doylestown, do
Carter, Benjamin,	do do	Park, Samuel C.,	Buckingham, do
Cox, Alfred,	Warrington, do	Radeliff, William,	do do
Clymer, James,	Plumstead, do	Rapp, Markley,	Warrington, do
Delp, William,	Montgomery Co., do	Robinson, George W.,	Bensalem, do
Dean, Henry C.,	Buckingham, do	Staver, Evan J.,	Buckingham, do
Donahoe, John,	Doylestown, do	Silvey, Samuel,	Doylestown, do
Donahoe, Michael,	Doylestown, do	Silvey, James,	Doylestown, do
Emery, Henry F.,	Warrington, do	Smith, Andrew J.,	do do
Eckhart, George,	Doylestown, do	Stetler, R.,	Gwynedd, Mtg'y Co., do
Eckhart, Lewis H.,	Hilltown, do	Sweezy, Charles,	Solebury, do
Eckerman, Wm.,	New Britain, do	Thieroff, Adam,	New Britain, do
Flack, Harman,	Doylestown, do	Teiterman, Christian,	Doylestown, do
Fell, Henry C.,	Buckingham, do	Tomlinson, David B.,	do do
Gault, William,	Warrington, do	Vanhorn, William,	Southampton, do
Garner, Amos,	do do	White Jarvis,	Doylestown, do
Godshalk, Samuel,	do do	Wilkinson, John S.,	Warwick, do
Gayman, Abr.,	Gwynedd, Mtg'y Co., do	Worthington, Wm. B.,	Buck'ghm, do
Ganzez, James B.,	Philadelphia, do	Worthington, Jeremiah,	do do
Garner, George W.,	Doylestown, do	Worthington, John J.,	do do
Gill, Abraham,	Buckingham, do	Worthington, William,	Solebury, do
Haldeman, Philip,	Warrington, do	Whitaker, Abr.,	Buckingham, do
Humphry, John,	New Britain, do	Wood, Joseph,	Warwick, do
Holmes, John,	Buckingham, do	Wood, William,	Warminster, do
Johnson, William E.,	Solebury, do	Yeakle, John,	New Britain, do

## VOLUNTEER RECRUITS.

*Received after leaving Camp Lacey.*

Miller, Samuel,	Doylestown, Pa.	Overholt, Charles W.,	Plumstead, Pa.
Overholt, Simeon,	Plumstead, do		

## MUSICIAN.

Smith, Andrew J., Doylestown, Pa.

## CONSCRIPTS AND SUBSTITUTES.

*Received at Morris Island, S. C.*

Acker, Lafayette,	Seranton, Pa.	Geiler, John,	Philadelphia, Pa.
Brown, John,	Pottsville, do	Howard, Charles,	do do
Brown, William,	do do	Hogan, William,	do do
Cook, John,	do do	Henner, Brinkley,	do do
Comstock, Wm. H.,	Philadelphia, do	Hager, David,	Pottsville, do
Delp, William R.,	Pottsville, do	Hanhn, Isaac S.,	do do
Dorton, William,	do do	Kelley, Patrick,	do do
Degraw, John,	do do	Kepp, William,	Seranton, do
Davenport, Jacob,	Seranton, do	Klinesmith, Augustus,	Pottsville, Pa.
Grabill, John,	Pottsville, do	Lane, George,	do do
Gearey, John,	do do	Mott, Frederick,	do do

Matz, George,	Pottsville, Pa.	Taylor, William H.,	Philada., Pa.
Reider, Jacob,	do do	Thomas, John S.,	Pottsville, do
Rathman, Daniel,	Reading, do	Wilson, Thomas,	Philadelphia, do
Smith, Edwin,	Philadelphia, do	Whitaker, Ambrose,	Scranton, do
Swinton, John,	Pottsville, do	Weaver, George,	do do
Smith, Charles,	do do	Walter, Henry,	Pottsville, do
Sarber, Isaiah,	Scranton, do	Young, John,	do do
Sheilder, Conrad H.,	do do		

## COMPANY "C."

William Warren Marple, Captain, Warminster Bucks Co., Pa.

James M. Carver, 1st Lieutenant, Doylestown, Pa.

J. Cathewood Robinson, 2nd Lieutenant, Philadelphia, Pa.

## SERGEANTS.

John S. Hartley,	New Hope, Pa.	William O. Robins,	New Hope, Pa.
George T. Magill,	Solebury, do	James S. Slack,	Richboro, do
Thos. B. Scarborough,	New Hope, do		

## CORPORALS.

Charles Michener,	Carversville, Pa.	Samuel P. Ryan,	Doylestown, Pa.
Julius B. Tyson,	Montgom'y Co., do	Henry Hooven,	Philadelphia, do
Sam'l S. Clayton,	Philadelphia, do	Isaac Torbert,	Richboro, do
Frederick Smith,	Buckingham, do	William Watson,	Solebury, do

## MUSICIANS.

Jonathan J. Hellings,	North'pton, Pa.	William Williams,	New Hope, Pa.
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## PRIVATES.

Baker, Zachariah,	Lewisburg, Pa.	Kendell, William,	Philadelphia, Pa.
Bennett, John,	Brownsburg, do	Kitchen, Harrison,	Solebury, do
Bennett, Andrew J.,	Bucks Co., do	Lie, Casper,	Germany.
Bright, C.,	Horsham, Mtg'y Co., do	Lippincott, Samuel,	New Jersey.
Bright, Edw.,	do do	Lockhart, George,	Philadelphia, Pa.
Brown, W. W. H.,	Plumstead, do	Magee, William,	do do
Bryan, William,	Davisville, do	Michener, Charles,	Chester Co., do
Buck, Charles H.,	New Hope, do	Milliman, William,	Bucks Co., do
Caffey, William,	Buckingham, do	Moor, Nathan,	Montgomery Co., do
Carver, Nathan,	Bucks Co., do	Morris, Crispin,	Bucks Co., do
Clark, Stephen,	Doylestown, do	Moss, Mahlon,	Montgomery Co., do
Clayton, Jonathan,	Montg'y Co., do	Mullen, Joseph,	Valley Forge, do
Clayton, Richard,	do do	McCloskey, John,	Ireland.
Cooper, Jordan,	Buckingham, do	McGuigan, James,	Philadelphia, Pa.
Craven, Charles,	Newtown, do	Naylor, Houston,	New Hope, do
Dungan, James B.,	Bucks Co., do	Nice, Peter,	do do
Eastburn, Harrison,	do do	Odendeffe, Jacob,	Germany.
Edwards, Augustus,	Davisville, do	Oliver, William N.,	Bucks Co., Pa.
Edwards, William,	Buckingham, do	Parry, William,	Bridgeport, do
Erwin, John B.,	Bucks Co., do	Rice, George,	New Hope, do
Ford, Samuel,	Montgomery Co., do	Robins, Henry,	do do
Gano, Stephen,	Bucks Co., do	Roberts, Crispin,	Bucks Co., do
Hamilton, Isaac,	Ireland.	Roberts, Joseph,	do do
Hibbs, Harrison,	Buckingham, Pa.	Roberts, William R.,	do do
Hilbourn, John,	Bucks Co., do	Ross, Henry B.,	do do
Jones, William S.,	Montg'y Co., do	Ryan, Francis,	New Hope, do
Keeler, Elias,	Tinicum, Pa.	Scarborough, R. S.,	do do
Keeler, William,	do do	Selser, Samuel,	Huntingdon Co., do



Shaw, Moses R.,	Buckingham, Pa.	Van Horn, Albert	Bucks Co., Pa.
Shuster, Abram,	Davisville, do	Watson, Sam'l A.,	Philadelphia, do
Silvey, Abram,	New Hope, do	Weissman, Peter,	Missouri.
Sine, Harvey,	Buckingham, do	Wetter, Ramsey,	Bucks Co., Pa.
Smith, Thomas J.,	Bucks Co., do	Willdoner, Frederick,	do do
Smith, Tunis R.	do do	Wynkoop, Thos. H.,	do do
Stackhouse, Samuel,	do do	Stafford, John,	Ireland.
Stiner, William,	do do	Elliott, William R.,	Philadelphia, Pa.
Tagney, James,	Ireland.	Campbell, John B.,	Bucks Co., do
Taylor, Samuel,	Bucks Co., Pa.	Lovett, John,	do do
Titus, Elias,	do do		

## VOLUNTEER RECRUITS.

*Received after leaving Camp Lacey.*

Marlin, George,	Philadelphia, Pa.	Engles, William H.,	Bucks Co., Pa.
Halderman, H.,	Montg'ry Co., do		

## CONSCRIPTS AND SUBSTITUTES.

*Received at Morris Island, S. C.*

Andrews, Renben,	Scranton, Pa.	Horttenstine, Adam,	Pennsylvania.
Ackel, Augustus,	do do	Horttenstine, Tilghman,	do
Ackel Hezekiah,	Gloucester Co., N.J.	Herbert, Charles,	Germany.
Ackel, Frederick,	Germany.	Hampton, James,	Missouri.
Bellerney, Oliver,	France.	Kelley, Thomas,	Ireland.
Bohner, Lewis,	Germany.	Lanzenbach, Edwin,	Pennsylvania.
Bohrens, Henry,	do	Lucas, Wilkins,	do
Brannon, John,	Ireland.	Larenz, Isaac,	do
Brownwell, Daniel,	Pennsylvania.	Rausch, August,	Germany.
Coddington, William H.,	do	Myers, John,	do
Cool, Peter,	do	Seglin, Henry,	Pennsylvania.
Corby, Charles,	Italy.	Smith, John,	New York.
Davis, Charles S.,	Massachusetts.	Smith, William,	Indiana.
Daubert, Jacob,	Pennsylvania.	Steir, Bartlefred,	Germany.
Detwiler, Tilghman,	do	Stanton, Watson,	Pennsylvania.
Dier, Yeodeon,	Canada.	Tayman, James,	Maryland.
Ech, Nathan,	Pennsylvania.	Williams, Frank,	Williamsport, Pa.
Fox, Thomas,	England.	Wilson, James,	Ireland.
Fisher, Emmanuel,	Pennsylvania.	Wagner, Henry E.,	Pennsylvania.
Fitzgerald, Patrick,	Canada.	Yost, James,	do
Hinkle, George,	Pennsylvania.		

## COMPANY "D."

Jacob Swartzlander, Captain,	Doylestown, Pa.
Richard Roberts, 1st Lieutenant,	Quakertown, Pa.
Enos R. Artman, 2nd do	do

## SERGEANTS.

Levi H. Markly, Line Lexington, Pa.	James Hessler,	Quakertown, Pa.
Jonathan White, Doylestown, do	Wm. M. Schaffer,	Trumb'rsville, do
Fenwick, Leatherbury, Quak'tn, Pa.		

## CORPORALS.

L. A. Rosenberg, Line Lex'gton, Pa.	Charles E. Deihl,	Richlandtown, Pa.
Aaron Thompson, Quakertown, do	W. H. H. Antrim,	Steinsburgh, do
J. U. Bridegroom, Emmaus, Lehigh do	William H. Morton,	do do
Samuel F. Ball, Quakertown, do	John Rosenberger,	Quakertown, do

## MUSICIANS.

Chas. B. Johnson, Philadelphia, Pa. | Casper Somerndyke, Philada., Pa.

## PRIVATES.

Arn, Jacob,	Quakertown, Pa.	Headman, David,	Quakertown, Pa.
Anker, John,	Philadelphia, do	Kreader, Daniel,	do do
Althouse, Henry,	Quakertown, do	Kreader, George,	do do
Ansley, George W.,	Bucks Co., do	Kerns, C. W.,	Trumbowersville, do
Billger, Lewis,	Quakertown, do	Kerns, Henry,	do do
Baltz, Peter,	do do	Kemmerer, Henry B.,	Quakert'n, do
Brown, William,	do do	Kleinsmith, Daniel,	Bunkerhill, do
Binder, Fr. M.,	Montgomery Co., do	Keiser, Charles M.,	Hilltown, do
Butterworth, Henry,	Quakert'n, do	Lilly, Amandus,	Quakertown, do
Breish, George C.,	do do	Miller, Francis,	do do
Booz, John W.,	Trumbowersville, do	Miller, Evan,	do do
Cressman, W. B.,	Quakertown, do	Mussleman, William,	Steinsburg, do
Conaway, Edward F.,	do do	Mussleman, John B.,	do do
Croman, Jacob,	do do	Martin, Jonas B.,	Dublin, do
Christ, W.,	Emmaus, Lehigh Co., do	McNamee, Peter,	Pennsylvania.
Deihl, Edwin,	do do	Naan, James,	Quakertown, do
Deihl, Jacob,	do do	Osback, Howard,	Doylestown, do
Dilliard, H.,	Lightstown, do	Prosser, Daniel D.,	Quakertown, do
Dilliard, John,	do do	Roberts, Abraham,	do do
Faes, Jacob,	Quakertown, do	Roberts, John,	do do
Frank, William S.,	Bunkerhill, do	Rohr, Henry,	Hilltown, do
Franks, William D.,	Hilltown, do	Rooks, Charles,	do do
Foley, John,	Quakertown, do	Steinberger, John,	Quakertown, do
Farran, William,	do do	Spangenberg, Charles,	do do
Flanagan, Henry,	do do	Snyder, W.,	L. Lex'gton, Mtg'y Co. do
Feshner, John,	do do	Shaw, Charles,	Quakertown, do
Grossman, Christian,	do do	Smith, Joseph B.,	Richlandtown, do
Geary, George C.,	Steinsburg, do	Sleight, Charles,	Bunkerhill, do
Grainer, John G.,	Quakertown, do	Shelly, Henry,	Steinsburg, do
Godshall, Levi S.,	do do	Smith, Robert,	Buffalo, N. Y.
Hulit, Gilliam G.,	Bucks Co., do	Stillwagen, H.,	Line Lexington, Pa.
Hallback, Marcus Z.,	Philada., do	Traubower, Hilary,	Quakert'n, do
Haverstraw, William,	Hilltown, do	Thomas, Silas,	Line Lexington, do
Harfeter, Gottlieb,	do do	Weaver, P.,	Emmaus, Lehigh Co., do
Holsword, G.,	Emmaus, Lehigh Co. do	Wambold, Jeremiah,	Quakert'n, do
Heller, Nathaniel,	Steinsburg, do	Williams, Charles,	Gwynedd, do
Heist, Joseph,	Quakertown, do	Ziegenfoos, Josiah,	Bunkerhill, do
Hacket, William,	do do		

## VOLUNTEER RECRUITS.

*Received after leaving Camp Lacey.*

Wright, Samuel C.,	Philada., Pa.	Broadbeck, John W.,	Quakert'n, Pa.
Link, Michael,	Quakertown, do	Fisher, Henry,	do do
Brunner, Charles,	do do	Headman, Joseph,	Bunkerhill, do
Cope, Elias,	do do	Pfender, Joseph,	Quakertown, do
Cope, David B.,	do do	Nace, Samuel,	Bunkerhill, do

## CONSCRIPTS AND SUBSTITUTES.

*Received at Morris Island, S. C.*

Brantly, George W.,	Georgia.	Colclough, James W.,	Pottsville, Pa.
Clark, George W.,	Philadelphia, Pa.	Donnelly, John,	do do
Clark, Thomas,	do do	Edwards, James,	do do
Chalton, John,	Canada.	Edger, James W.,	Canada.

Gardiner, R. B.,	Washington, D. C.	Maiers, Henry,	Philadelphia, Pa.
Green, George Z.,	Baltimore, Md.	McConnell, James,	Pittsburg, do
Hooper, James B.,	Pottsville, Pa.	Noonan, Edward,	Rhode Island.
Hawkins, James,	Baltimore, Md.	Neiheiser, William,	Pottsville, Pa.
Kane, Michael,	do do	Ryan, Michael,	Ohio.
Henry, John,	Maryland.	Reed, William L.,	Pottsville, Pa.
Koch, John,	Pottsville, Pa.	Son, John,	do do
King, Robert,	Philadelphia, Pa.	Scott, Charles,	New York.
Kyle, Thomas,	Baltimore, Md.	Williams, James,	Baltimore, Md.
Mullen, John,	do do	Williams, John,	do do
Myers, Thomas,	do do		

## COMPANY "E."

George T. Harvey, Captain, Doylestown, Pa.  
 Matthias Lehnert, 1st Lieutenant, Nockmixon, Pa.  
 Edward M. Croll, 2nd do Philadelphia, do

## SERGEANTS.

Jacob W. Glase,	Bucks Co., Pa.	Francis L. Coar,	Bucks Co., Pa.
Thos. F. Tomlinson,	Doylestown, do	William Walker,	do do
Charles W. Hoffman,	Bucks Co., do		

## CORPORALS.

Frederick Lehnert,	Easton, Pa.	Adam Leibler,	Bucks Co. Pa.
Jerome Buck,	Bucks Co., do	Andrew Enders,	do do
Joseph H. Larrison,	do do	Jacob Krome,	Philadelphia, do
William Sigafoss,	do do	William H. Lex,	do do

## MUSICIANS.

Frederick Leffler,	Bucks Co., Pa.	Edward F. Magill,	Philadelphia, Pa.
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## PRIVATEES.

Apple, Frederick,	Bucks Co., Pa.	Fisher, John,	Bucks Co., Pa.
Beck, E. H.,	Montgomery do	Gamble, Charles,	Philadelphia, do
Bean, Oliver W.,	do do	Gibney, Matthew,	Bucks Co., do
Bissey, John,	Bucks do	Gill, George A.,	Philadelphia, do
Brecht, Harrison,	Montg'y do	Gillmore, James,	do do
Brown, Francis M.,	Bucks do	Green, Aaron,	Bucks Co., do
Beans, Jonas,	do do	Greasamer, Henry,	do do
Buck, Augustus,	do do	Harvey, Francis H.,	do do
Bickel, Christian,	do do	Haywing, Jacob,	do do
Biddle, Cephas R.,	do do	Hargins, Theodore G.,	Philada., do
Clemens, Samuel,	do do	Harr, David H.,	Bucks Co., do
Campman, Jacob,	do do	Heisler, Elias,	Montgomery do
Coyle, Patrick,	do do	Henn, Jacob,	Bucks, do
Campbell, Harrison G.,	do do	Hilt, Joel C.,	Philadelphia, do
Darrah, Charles,	do do	Hallowell, Thomas,	Bucks Co., do
Devereux, James,	do do	Hess, John,	do do
Daniel, John,	do do	Johnson, John H.,	Bucks Co., do
Dippenbrook, Adolph,	do do	Jordan, Jacob,	do do
Deimer, Elias,	do do	Knoll, Fred. C.,	Montg'y do
Elf, Conrad,	do do	Kohl, Henry H.,	Bucks do
Engle, George W.,	Montg'y do	Kramer, Elwood,	do do
Ely, Watson F.,	Bucks do	Kolbe, Charles,	do do
Farrell, Aaron,	do do	Livengood, Joseph N.,	do do
Fonash, John,	do do	Logan, George H.,	do do
Fornerman, William,	do do	Longenour, Josiah,	do do

Longenower, Levi, Bucks Co., Pa.	Sine, Israel, Bucks Co., Pa.
Montgomery, J., Montg'ry do	Smith, Joseph W., Philadelphia, do
Morris, G. George, Bucks do	Schock, Henry, North'pton Co., do
Martin, John, do do	Scarborough, Thos., Bucks do
McCullum, Lawrence, do do	Smith, Eli, do do
McGlathery, C., Montg'ry do	Ticero, Casper, Montgom'y do
McIntyre, William, Bucks do	Tomah, Adam, Bucks do
Nicholas, Tobias, do do	Tranger, James, do do
Oberpeck, Jacob, do do	Vanata, Samuel W., do do
Power, Thomas, do do	Welsh, Elias, Bucks do
Price, John, Montgomery do	Weaver, John H., do do
Ricketts, William, Lancaster, do	Wentzell, Samuel, Montg'y do
Rush, John, Bucks Co., do	Warness, Alfred, do do
Race, Aaron, Montgomery do	Wireman, Isaac, do do
Shaw, Christian, Bucks do	Worthington, John, Bucks do
Schlegle, Charles, do do	White, Jacob, Montgomery do
Schwartz, John, do do	Young, Samuel, Bucks do
Schellenberger, Levi, do do	Zimmerman, Michael, do do

## VOLUNTEER RECRUITS.

*Received after leaving Camp Lacey.*

Black, Isaac, Bucks Co., Pa.	Hill, Patterson, Philadelphia, Pa.
De Shaw, Francis, Philadelphia, do	Moyer, George, Bucks Co., do
Frederick, Wm. H., Bucks Co., do	Wood, Hile, do do
Hutchinson, John, do do	Wiley, James, do do

## CONSCRIPTS AND SUBSTITUTES.

*Received at Morris Island, S. C.*

Adams, John A., Easton, Pa.	La Bar, Philip J., Easton, Pa.
Bayley, Edgar S., do	Ramey, William, do do
Barnes, Abraham, do	Snyder, Daniel, Jr., Norristown, do
Cornell, Sydney, do	Shaffer, Brock, Easton, do
Cooper, David R., do	Stege, William H., do do
Hanley, James, do	Stringfellow, Henry, Philada., do
Hilgert, Jacob, do	Dunlap, Daniel, Easton, do

## COMPANY "F."

Alfred Marple, Captain, Attleboro, Bucks Co., Pa.

David R. P. Hibbs, 1st Lieutenant, Middletown, Bucks Co., Pa.

Benjamin Albertson, 2nd do Falls, do do

## SERGEANTS.

Joseph Taylor, Southampton, Pa.	Thos. J. Brown, Southampton, Pa.
James M. Fox, do do	John Dyer, do do
Benjamin Wright, Falls do	

## CORPORALS.

S. C. Worthington, North'n Pa.	John C. Nelson, Fallsington Pa.
David Carter, Middletown do	David Everitt, Middletown do
Lewis J. H. Hellings, do do	Paschal C. Hibbs, do do
W. L. Preston, Morrisville do	H. A. Martindell, Attleboro do

## MUSICIANS.

R. H. Krewson, Middlet'n Pa.	Wm. B. Small, Middletown Pa.
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## PRIVATES.

Burton, Anthony, Falls Pa.	Barnhill, Wm., Middletown Pa.
Bise, Addis, Middletown do	Britton, H., Northampton do

Bender, Jacob, Solebury	Pa.	Reading, John, *	Falls	Pa.
Comley, J. P., North'pton	do	Reagin, William, Bensalem		do
Crock, John, do	do	Seese, M. M., Southampton		do
Davis, William, Solebury	do	Saylor, Mathias, Middlet'n		do
Davidson, Sam'l, Middlet'n	do	South, Merritt B., Falls		do
Eastburn, Jos., South'pton	do	Severns Edward, Middlet'n		do
Eastburn, Alfred, do	do	Stokes, John, Falls		do
Eastburn, Chas., Bensalem	do	Simms, Thomas, South'pton		do
Erwin, James, Southampt'n	do	Stone, James, Solebury		do
Guie, George Q., Falls	do	Stevens, T. T., North'pton		do
Grimes, James, Frenchtown, N. J.		Sanford, F. J., Buckingham		do
Hoff, Theodore, North'pton	Pa.	Stackhouse, H. J., Bensalem		do
Hains, J., Morrisville	do	Toy, Chas. T., Middletown		do
Hart, William, Philadelphia, Pa.		Tomlinson, Geo., Attleboro		do
Headley, E. H., Fallington	Pa.	Trencher, John, North'pton		do
Hibbs, S. G., Hulmeville	do	Vanzant, Benj. B., Falls		do
Hickman, Jos., Tullytown	do	Woodside, William, do		do
Higham, Albert, Philadelphia, Pa.		White, James, do		do
Johnson, Isaac, Middlet'n	Pa.	Waldron, Edw., Hulmeville		do
Kuch, John F., Attleboro	do	Walker, Wm. B., Richboro		do
Kindey, Jacob, Buckingh'm	do	Williams, Jas. H., Attleboro		do
Leach, Wm. W., Fallsing't'n	do	Wilson, Robert, Morrisville		do
Leach, Joseph J., Middlet'n	do	Worthington, F. C., Bens'l'm		do
Leach, Jacob J., do	do	Quinn, Mich'l, Buckingh'm		do
Leach, Henry L., do	do	Rickey, Wm. A., Morrisville		do
La Rue, Landrum, Byberry	do	Kenney, Simon, do		do
McNeal, James, North'pton	do	Harford, Jas., Northampt'n		do
McConnell, Manning, Falls	do	Doan, M., Attleboro		do
McEuen, Wm., Middletown	do	Blutstine, Chr., Buck'gham		do
Mershon, Henry, Falls	do	Spearing, J., Morrisville		do
Moon, David, Tullytown	do	Yeagler, Lewis, Hartsville		do
Minster, John, Middletown	do	Hulick, J. S., Morrisville		do
Merrick, Peter B., Falls	do	Donahoe, Jas., Middletown		do
Parsons, John, Attleboro	do	Rhoads, Garret, do		do
Parsons, W. E., South'pton	do	Cook, John G., Taylorsville		do
Potts, George, Falls	do	Cook, Chr. L., Montgomery Co., Pa.		

## VOLUNTEER RECRUITS.

*Received after leaving Camp Lacey.*

Murphy, A. D., Penn's Manor, Pa.	States, Ambrose, Byberry, Pa.
Crozer, William, Morrisville, do	States, James, do do
English, Joseph, Falls, do	Cheston, Washington, Bristol, do

## CONSCRIPTS AND SUBSTITUTES.

*Received at Morris Island, S. C.*

Allabaugh, Madison, Scranton, Pa.	Hooven, Conrad, Scranton, Pa.
Bacorn, Nelson, do	Morris, Charles W., do do
Campbell, George W., do	Morgan, Thomas, Pottsville, do
Chappall, Robert, do	Mason, John, do do
Collins, Enos, do	O'Neil, Edward, Frankford, do
Coniway, James, do	O'Conner, Hugh, Philadelphia, do
Doolery, Patrick, Pottsville, Pa.	Porter, Addis, Scranton, do
Duckworth, William, Scranton, do	Pellam, William M., do do
Grisdale, George, Philadelphia, do	Robinson, James, do do
Hopkins, Judson, Scranton, do	Smith, John, do do
Harkins, William, Pottsville, do	Smith, Patrick, Pottsville, do



Smith, William H.,	Scranton, Pa.	Wall, Miles,	Scranton, Pa.
Reese, William,	do do	McDonald, James,	Philadelphia, do
Wilson, John,	Pottsville, do	McCartey, George,	Pottsville, do

## COMPANY "G."

Jno. E., Corcoran,	Captain, Upper Blacks Eddy, Bucks Co., Pa.
Philip Hinkle,	1st Lieutenant, Plumsteadville, do do
Harry C. Kessler,	2nd do Doylestown, do do

## SERGEANTS.

Jacob Myers,	Nockamixon, Pa.	William Erwin,	Bridgeton, Pa.
Peter O'Connell,	Bridgeton, do	Thomas Fries,	Plumstead, do
Philip Burk,	do do		

## CORPORALS.

Hiram Pursell,	Bridgeton, Pa.	Chas. Donnat,	Buckingham, Pa.
Geo. S. Connor,	Forrestville, do	Philip Warford,	Bridgeton, do
Henry Warford,	Bridgeton, do	Geo. W. Mitchener,	Forrestville, do
David Frankenfield,	do do	Mahlon Lear,	Solebury, do

## MUSICIANS.

James Smith,	Forrestville, Pa.	Morgan, John W.,	Fallsington, Pa.
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## PRIVATEES.

Anderson, Joseph,	Forrestville, Pa.	Hofford, Martin,	Plumstead, Pa.
Burk, William,	Bridgeton, do	Howard, Samuel,	Bridgeton, do
Blaker, Joseph,	Forrestville, do	King, George,	Buckingham, do
Black, Zeanes,	Plumstead, do	Kuhn, Adam,	do do
Boileau, William,	Bridgeton, do	Keeler, Henry,	Tinicum, do
Beatty, James,	do do	Kohl, Charles,	Nockamixon, do
Carrol, Patrick,	Limeport, do	Lear, Henry,	Bridgeton, do
Cochran, Alexander,	Bridgeton, do	Lear, Jordan,	Tinicum, do
Cosner, Thomas,	Forrestville, do	Lereh, John,	Bridgeton, do
Curly, Timothy,	New Hope, do	Leedom, Norris,	Buckingham, do
Davis, George,	Forrestville, do	Lower, John,	Philadelphia, do
Eckhart, John,	do do	Laubert, Amandus,	Buckingham, do
Ellis, Franklin,	Brownsburg, do	Lawder, Benton,	Plumstead, do
Eichline, John,	Tinicum, do	McNally, James,	New Hope, do
Feely, William,	Bridgeton, do	Murph, Wm. P.,	Yardleyville, do
Foust, Jacob,	do do	Myers, Charles,	Nockamixon, do
Foust, Michael,	do do	Mercelious, Henry,	Buck'gham, do
Frankenfield, Reuben,	do do	Morgan, John M.,	Forrestville, do
Frankenfield, Frederick,	do do	Munday, John,	Plumstead, do
Frankenfield, William,	do do	Nicholas, Matthias,	Tinicum, do
Gwinner, William,	do do	Niblick, William,	Buckingham, do
Grey, Francis,	do do	O'Daniel, John,	Bridgeton, do
Grey, Wilson,	do do	O'Connor, Michael,	do do
Ging, Charles,	Point Pleasant, do	Pursell, Frederick,	do do
Garner, William,	Philadelphia, do	Reynolds, Thomas,	do do
Goodenow, William,	do do	Rose, Thomas,	do do
Harton, Farrel C.,	Bridgeton, do	Reily, George,	Buckingham, do
Houseworth, Isaac,	do do	Reily, John,	Doylestown, do
Hutchinson, William,	Allentown, do	Robinson, Benj.,	Buckingham, do
Higgins, Lawrence,	Yardleyville, do	Robinson, Isaac,	do do
Hamerstone, And.,	Bridgeton, do	Strouse, John,	Bridgeton, do
Hill, Jacob,	Buckingham, do	Stafford, James,	Doylestown, do

Shoekency, John,	Bridgeton, Pa.	Warford, Amos,	Bridgeton, Pa.
Sibbitt, John,	Solebury, do	Warford, Isaac,	do do
Steidenger, Israel,	Bridgeton, do	Weaver, William,	Tinicum, do
Sees, John,	Plumstead, do	Walton, Oliver,	Solebury, do
Smith, Henry,	Tinicum, do	Watson, William,	Bridgeton, do
Schaffer, Gordon,	Plumstead, do	Young, Michael,	Plumstead, do
Traugher, Reader,	Nockamixon, do	Yeats, Ephraim,	Solebury, do

## VOLUNTEER RECRUITS.

*Received after leaving Camp Lacey.*

Bill, Charles,	Tinicum, Pa.	Kennedy, Wm. E.,	Phoenixville, Pa.
Bartleson, Sam'l V.,	Solebury, do	Kinsey, Simpson,	Buckingham, do
Dhiel, Martin,	Tinicum, do	Kohl, Joseph,	Tinicum, do
Gaddes, Jones,	Philadelphia, do	Schiabie, Solomon,	do do
Hanford, George W.,	do do	Shamp, David,	Bridgeton, do
Hillpot, Hugh F.,	Tinicum, do	Whiticar, Wilmon W.,	Philada., do
Hinkle, La Fayette M.,	Plumst'd, do		

## CONSCRIPTS AND SUBSTITUTES.

*Received at Morris Island, S. C.*

Arnold, Stephen,	Seranton, Pa.	Hartley, Vincent,	Pottsville, Pa.
Angle, Mahlon L.,	do do	Hastings, Chas. A.,	Philada., do
Breeze, Frederick,	do do	Kramer, John,	Pottsville, do
Coleman, Jacob A.,	do do	Lutz, George W.,	Seranton, do
Culp, Daniel W.,	do do	Mitchell, Walter,	Pottsville, do
Carefield, Michael,	Pottsville, do	Norman, John,	Seranton, do
Davidson, John,	do do	Pursell, Isaac,	Bridgeton, do
Ellis, John,	do do	Ramsey, Frank A.,	Seranton, do
Green, James,	Seranton, do	Roberts, George W.,	do do
Garmon, Isaac,	Lancaster, do	Roberts, Robert,	do do
Harris, Samuel,	Seranton, do	Smith, James,	Pottsville, do
Henny, George,	Lancaster, do	Swartz, George H.,	Seranton, do
Hearny, Aaron S.,	Tinicum, do	Vanhorn, Clinton,	do do

## COMPANY "H."

William F. Walter,	Captain,	Reading, Pa.
Diller B. Groff,	1st Lieutenant,	do
George W. Ashenfelter,	2nd do	do

## SERGEANTS.

Charles A. Bitting,	Reading, Pa.	Joel Setley,	Reading, Pa.
Charles A. Heckler,	do do	George M. Groff,	do do
Charles A. Spangler,	do do		

## CORPORALS.

William Strawbridge,	Reading, Pa.	Henry G. Hauck,	Exter, Pa.
Theodore Aker,	do do	David Aker,	Reading, do
John Sheetz,	do do	John P. Housum,	do do
Clinton Seyfert,	do do	James Toole,	do do

## MUSICIANS.

James J. Fisher,	Reading, Pa.	Joseph H. Housum,	Reading, Pa.
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## PRIVATEs.

Brobst, Daniel F.,	Berks Co., Pa.	Bower, Henry,	Reading, Pa.
Bost, George,	Lehigh do	Bower, Daniel M.,	Berks Co., do
Bechtol, Elhanen,	Reading, Pa.	Bower, Thomas,	do do



Bower, Anthony,	Berks Co., Pa.	Maicks, Edward,	Berks Co., Pa.
Becker, Reuben,	do do	Mirom, Charles,	do do
Brinzinger, Daniel,	do do	Maurer, Aaron,	do do
Buderwack, Samuel,	do do	McDermott, William,	do do
Bragley, James S.,	do do	Moyer, George,	do do
Correll, Lewis,	do do	Nunnamacher, M., Schuy'kl	do do
Correll, Joseph,	do do	Nagle, Charles,	Berks do
Correll, Jonas,	do do	Paulus, John,	Lehigh do
Dippery, Nathaniel,	do do	Roland, William,	Berks do
Enix, Charles	do do	Rhode, William B.,	do do
Fox, Levi R.,	do do	Richards, William,	do do
Forbion, Charles,	do do	Rathman, Levi,	do do
Galligham, James,	do do	Ruth, Thomas,	do do
Gicker, Albert,	do do	Rowe, Joseph,	do do
Gay, Nathaniel,	do do	Renneberger, Henry,	do do
Grew, Nelson, Montgomery	do	Quimby, James A.,	do do
Hughes, William,	Berks do	Saylor, George F.,	do do
Harner, John,	do do	Schlegel, Charles,	do do
Helms, Aaron,	do do	Seiders, Solomon,	do do
Hinman, John,	do do	Shoppell, Samuel,	do do
Hartz, Henry B.,	do do	Shaffer, Charles,	do do
Heckler, Augustus,	do do	Shirey, Joseph,	do do
Jackson, John J., Dauphin	do	Steffy, Christian,	do do
Hissinger, James,	Berks do	Strausser, Elisha,	do do
Kennedy, J., Schuylkill	do	Ward, John, Gloucester Co., N. J.	
Leiby, Peter,	Berks do	Worthington, John, Bucks Co., Pa.	
Lutz, Henry,	do do	Wolf, Elias,	Berks do
Miller, Benjamin,	do do		

## VOLUNTEER RECRUITS.

*Received after leaving Camp Lacey.*

Althouse, John W.,	Reading, Pa.	Morris, James,	Bucks Co., Pa.
Crossly, Chester,	Bucks Co., do	Potts, Aaron,	do do
Dean, James,	do do	Reiff, Charles,	Berks do
Dileamp, William,	Berks Co., do	Rhoads, David E.,	do do
Fisher, Henry J.,	Reading, do	Stackhouse, Amos,	Bucks do
Getz, Charles,	do do	Schlegel, Lawrence,	Berks do
Leinbach, George,	do do		

## CONSCRIPTS AND SUBSTITUTES.

*Received at Morris Island, S. C.*

Boyle, John,	Philadelphia, Pa.	Hoggard, William,	Philadelphia, Pa.
Burns, George,	Pottsville, do	Howel, John,	Seranton, do
Bowdin, John,	do do	Loeser, Thomas S.,	Pottsville, do
Diener, Henry,	do do	Long, Henry C.,	do do
Dine, George,	Frankford, do	Miller, John,	Easton, do
Duffy, William,	do do	Millhousen, Charles,	Philada., do
Fogerty, Thomas,	Pottsville, do	Mease, Cyrus,	Pottsville, do
Flyn, Peter,	Scranton, do	Marry, Charles,	Philadelphia, do
Gray, Samuel,	do do	Martin, John,	Pottsville, do
Grigous, George,	Pottsville, do	Nichols, Charles,	Scranton, do
Herron, Daniel,	Frankford, do	Reves, James,	Easton, do
Hunter, William,	Pottsville, do	Richards, Charles,	Pottsville, do
Hieff, William,	Easton, do	Shaffer, Jacob,	Easton, do
Huff, Daniel,	do do	Simmons, James,	Pottsville, do
Hartshorn, Barak,	Scranton, do	Shuey, Ephraim B.,	do do

Sweney, Patrick,	Pottsville, Pa.	Walter, Jonathan	Pottsville, Pa.
Sweney, William,	do do	Wagner, John,	do do
Stetler, Henry,	do do	Woodward, Thomas,	Easton, do
Valentine, Ira,	Easton, do	Youman, Nathaniel,	Scranton, do
Witmer, Josiah,	Pottsville, do		

## COMPANY "I,"

Harry P. Duncan, Captain, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Benjamin Duncan, 2nd Lieutenant, do

## SERGEANTS.

Francis M. O'Neill, Philadelphia, Pa.	William H. Franck, Philadelphia, Pa.
Clement R. Whipple, do do	Charles T. Hart, Germantown, do
Joseph H. Williams, do do	

## CORPORALS.

James McRae, New Hope, Pa.	W. B. Nicholas, Line Lexington, Pa.
Samuel Margerum, Sen., Phila., do	Willam Solley, do do do
Joshua Anderson, do do	Cornelius Solley, do do do
John Faroe, New York.	F. Ruby, Glennriddle, Del. Co., do

## MUSICIANS.

George Hertig, Philadelphia, Pa.	Peter Hunter, Philadelphia, Pa.
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## PRIVATEs.

Adams, Lewis, Solebury, Pa.	Matlack, Jeremiah, Philadelphia, Pa.
Blake, Andrew, Philadelphia, do	McNeill, James, do do
Bradley, Hugh, do do	McCassey, Michael, Fallsington, do
Boiles, Theodore, Newtown, do	McDonnell, James, Solebury, do
Baingalugo, Nicholas, Phila., do	Margerum, Samuel, Jr., Phila., do
Biddle, Joseph P., Warminster, do	Ortt, J. H., Allentown, Lehigh co., do
Carman, William P., Phila., do	Peak, John Wesley, Phila., do
Cropley, John S., do do	Proctor, L., Glennriddle, Del. Co., do
Campbell, Robert W., Montg. Co., do	Parmer, A. H., Point Pleasant, do
Capelle, Carlo, Philadelphia, Pa.	Russel, Enoch, Montgomery Co., do
Dunn, Thomas, Doylestown, do	Rizzo, Giambatista, Philadelphia, do
Fries, Jacob, Philadelphia, do	Stroup, William, do do
Foxhole, Enoch, Hilltown, do	Seller, Frederick, do do
Forsythe, David, New York.	Thompson, Hamilton, Rocktown, N.J.
Gamble, N., Glennriddle, Del. Co., Pa.	Townsend, T., Glennriddle, Del. co. Pa.
Hampton, Augustus, Pineville, do	Wimen, Joseph, Philadelphia, do
Hinds, George, Solebury, do	White, Harrison, Point Pleasant, do
Jobson, Henry, Philadelphia, do	Wodock, Philip, Doylestown, do
Jones, W. C., Phoenixville, Ch. Co. do	Wodock, Jacob, do do
Muir, James, Philadelphia, do	

## VOLUNTEER RECRUITS.

*Received after leaving Camp Lacey.*

Baker, Conrad, Davisville, Pa.	Deitz, Amasa, Michigan.
Bertles, Andrew F., New Britain, do	Ellenberger, J. Martin, Hilltown, Pa.
Beckle, Levi M., Nockamixon, do	Glasshous, Hans, Doylestown, do
Beal, Seneca, Doylestown, do	Gaddes, William, New Britain, do
Beal, Joseph, do do	Garron, Samuel N., Doylestown, do
Carver, Henry, Carversville, do	Hungrage, William, Nockamixon, do
Carter, David, Bristol do	Huver, Jacob, New Britain, do
Devins, George, Nockamixon, do	Hays, William, Doylestown, do

Hall, Hiram,	Doylestown, Pa.	Roher, William,	New Britain, Pa.
Hogeland, Richard,	Nockamixon, do	Roberts, Peter A.,	Wrightstown, do
Kney, George W.,	Connecticut.	Spence, James,	Philadelphia, do
Kerr, John,	New Britain, Pa.	Wiggins, Charles R.,	Plumstead, do
Lynch, Edward,	Yardleyville, do	Whalen, Edward H.,	Boston, Mass.
Moore, Charles,	Hilltown, do	Williams, Charles,	New York.
Osborne, Charles,	Nockamixon, do	Wampold, Sassaman,	Doylestown, Pa.
Park, John,	Philadelphia, do	Wychoff, Peter G.,	Allentown, do

## CONSCRIPTS AND SUBSTITUTES.

*Received at Morris Island, S. C.*

Armstrong, Thomas,	Scranton, Pa.	Moore, Augustus,	Pottsville, Pa.
Brown, William,	Frankford, do	Miller, George,	do do
Barriger, William,	Scranton, do	Miller, Jonas,	do do
Boyer, Israel,	Pottsville, do	Murphy, Thomas,	Scranton, do
Betts, Peter,	do do	Minnig, Edward,	Pottsville, do
Briant, Charles,	Scranton, do	Mooney, John,	Philadelphia, do
Bennett, Rossman,	do do	Noll, William,	do do
Coleman, Charles H.,	do do	Odell, Thaddens,	Scranton, do
Carter, William,	Pottsville, do	Person, David,	Pottsville, do
Countryman, Philip,	Easton, do	Resseguie, John,	Scranton, do
Daymon, Edmund F.,	Phila., do	Richardson, Mason,	do do
Denney, George,	Scranton, do	Sprague, Harrison,	do do
Devine, Michael,	Pottsville, do	Smith, Charles,	do do
Decker, George,	Scranton, do	Smith, John C.,	Philadelphia, do
Flemings, George,	Pottsville, do	Strickler, Jonathan,	Pottsville, do
Gleason, James J.,	Scranton, do	Snyder, Jacob,	do do
Garman, Isaac,	Pottsville, do	Stackhouse, Wm. E.,	Scranton, do
Harvey, William,	do do	Schooley, Peter,	do do
Hartman, Franklin,	do do	Sackett, Charles,	do do
Hillpot, Jonas F.,	Frankford, do	Shirk, William,	Pottsville, do
Howard, Jesse,	Scranton, do	Schoonover, Daniel,	Scranton, do
Hays, John,	Philadelphia, do	Tanner, Cyrus,	do do
Klingerman, Jacob,	Pottsville, do	Tanner, Mordecai C.,	do do
Knoblauch, Christian,	do do	Walker, Francis M.,	do do
Lynn, John,	do do		

## COMPANY "K."

Henry Y. Pickering, Captain, Newtown, Pa.

Mahlon Yardley, 1st Lieutenant, Doylestown, Pa.

E. Sayers McDowell, 2nd Lieutenant, Bucks Co., Pa.

## SERGEANTS.

Thomas P. Chambers,	Newtown, Pa.	A. F. Mattis,	Line Lexington, Pa.
Chas. G. Cadwallader,	Dolington, do	Richard J. Lovett,	Yardleyville, do
Elwood Craven,	Warminster, do		

## CORPORALS.

Theodore Glasgow,	Warminster, Pa.	Benjamin S. Bennett,	Newtown, Pa.
Samuel Drebbs,	Chester Co., do	Charles P. Bissy,	Bucks Co., do
Charles Brown,	Bavaria, do	Thomas C. Neild,	do do
Andrew C. Reeves,	Bucks Co., do	Josiah C. Hubbard,	Newtown, do

## MUSICIANS.

Morris Worthington,	Bucks Co., Pa.	Joseph W. Griner,	Newportville, Pa.
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## PRIVATES.

Arrison, Thomas R.,	Somerville, Pa.	Lewis, Stockdale,	Bucks Co., Pa.
Bennett, Moses,	Bucks Co., do	Mann, Isaac K.,	Montgomery Co., do
Bennett, Charles L.,	do do	Miller, Thos. M.,	Northampton, do
Beard, William,	London, do	Myer, Peter,	Germany
Bissey, John W.,	Bucks Co., do	Mohr, Adolphus,	Bavaria.
Blaker, Lewis,	Newtown, do	Parson, Joseph,	Lumberville, Pa.
Bingham, Jonathan,	Chester Co., do	Randall, Andrew V.,	Bucks Co., do
Brown, Geo. Dollas,	Bucks Co., do	Radcliff, Geo. W.,	Philadelphia, do
Carr, William,	Longford, Ireland.	Raab, Bareley,	Bucks Co., do
Cadwallader, D. J.,	Bucks Co., Pa.	Rhodes, Tarlton A.,	New York.
Cadwallader, T.,	do do	Rice, Simpson,	Bucks Co., Pa.
Cooper, John J.,	do do	Ryan, John,	do do
Cutter, William,	do do	Sand, B. Frank,	Philadelphia, do
Cummings, Michael,	Ross., Ireland.	Sellers, Milton,	Bucks Co., do
Cape, John B.,	Middleton, Pa.	Settle, Jacob,	Germany.
Demming, Benj. S.,	Montg. Co., do	Seofield, Joseph,	Bucks Co., Pa.
Detwiler, Henry,	do do	Stapler, William,	do do
Fugle, William,	Germany.	Stringer, John,	England.
Gilbert, Benjamin,	Bucks Co., Pa.	Sherman, Christian,	Lancas. Co., Pa.
Good, Silas A.,	do do	Smith, Mahlon,	Bucks do
Hawk, Thomas,	do do	Scott, William S.,	do do
Hare, George W.,	do do	Street, Benj. F.,	Montg. do
Hare, William B.,	do do	Street, Daniel,	Bucks do
Hardex, John H.,	Philadelphia, Pa.	Starkey, Wm. H. H.,	do do
Hartly, George E.,	Bucks Co., do	Thomas, Daniel L.,	do do
Harman, John,	do do	Tomlinson, Wm. P.,	do do
Howell, William A.,	do do	Tyndale, Alfred,	do do
Howell, Joseph E.,	do do	Thatcher, John,	New Jersey.
Hutchinson, John,	Ireland.	Vanhorn, Charles D.,	Bucks Co., Pa.
Jarrett, B. Frank,	Montg. Co., Pa.	Voorhees, Jacob S.,	Phila., do
Kramer, Charles,	do do	Walton, Ely K.,	Bucks Co., Pa.
Kinsey, William,	Bucks Co., do	Webster, Charles W.,	do do
Kinsey, Robert,	do do	Wagner, William,	Montg. do
Kern, Christian,	Wertenberg, Pa.	Wildonger, John,	Bucks do
Lambert, Alfred,	Bucks Co., do	Worthington, Theo.,	do do
Lee, William,	do do	Witham, John E.,	Halifax, N. S.
Lee, John,	do do	Wiley, William,	Bucks Co., Pa.
Lee, Joseph,	do do		

## VOLUNTEER RECRUITS.

*Received after leaving Camp Lacey.*

Hill, Joseph H.,	Philadelphia, Pa.	Newbold, Tobias,	Montg. Co., Pa.
Howell, Daniel R.,	Bucks Co., Pa.	Krouse, John J.,	Lehigh do
Vanhorn, Isaiah M.,	do do	White, Moses,	Bucks do
Bornnman, Lewis,	Philadelphia, Pa.	Cooper, Preston,	do do

## CONSCRIPTS AND SUBSTITUTES.

*Received at Morris Island, S. C.*

Baker, James B.,	Pennsylvania.	Dart, Joshua,	Honesdale, Pa.
Buchanan, Benj. H.,	Scranton, Pa.	Duncan, Thomas,	Pottsville, do
Kramer, Lewis B.,	do do	Fisher, Henry,	do do
Cogle, Charles,	Easton, do	Fenton, George,	Philadelphia, do
Cooper, John L.,	Scranton, do	Griffith, William,	do do
Collins, Jacob,	do do	Hines, Jacob,	Pottsville, do
Chamberlain, William	do do	Hoff, John,	Reading, do
Darragh, Orphenia,	do do	Hinkley, Adalbert,	Scranton, do

Jones, John,	Pottsville, Pa.	Quick, James,	Scranton, Pa.
Johnson, James,	Philadelphia, do	Ransom, John,	do do
Krum, David B.,	Scranton, do	Sanszenberger, Jacob,	Phila., do
Knapp, Sylvester,	do do	Stanton, Oliver,	Easton, do
Lawrence, John,	Philadelphia, do	Stores, Russell,	Scranton, do
McCann, David,	Scranton, do	Williams, John F.,	Philadelphia, do
Ottleben, Franz,	Philadelphia, do	Williams, John,	Pettsville, do

*Enlisted Men Killed in Action.*

	Co.		Co.
Shadinger, Wm. J.....	A	Eastburn, Charles.....	F
Silvey, Joseph.....	A	States, James.....	F
Brierly, James.....	A	Stevens, Thomas T.....	F
Gill, Abraham.....	B	Rose, Thomas.....	G
Hartley, John S.....	C	Reilly, John.....	G
Magill, George S.....	C	Sees, John.....	G
Clayton, Samuel S.....	C	Gay, Nathaniel.....	H
Watson, Samuel A.....	C	Nagle, Charles.....	H
Morris Crispen.....	C	Lutz, Henry.....	H
Shaw, Moses R.....	C	Richards, William.....	H
Wynkoop, Thomas.....	C	Stackhouse, Amos.....	H
Brown, William W. H.....	C	Seiders, Solomon.....	H
Baltz, Peter.....	D	Cutler, William.....	K
Butterworth, Henry.....	D	Bissy, John W.....	K
Diffenbrook, Adolphus.....	E	Howell, Daniel R.....	K
Hart, Charles S.....	I	Howell, William A.....	K
Margerum, Samuel.....	I	Lee, John.....	K
Muir, James.....	I	Schefield, Joseph.....	K
McNeil, James.....	I	Stringer, John.....	K
Nicholas, Wm. B.....	I	Fugle, William.....	K
Whalen, Edward S.....	I	Radcliffe, George W.....	K
Sailor, Matthias.....	F		

*Died of Wounds.*

Lear, Thomas.....	A	Mundy, John.....	G
Ruth, William H.....	B	Hofford, Martin.....	G
Eckhart, Lewis H.....	B	Brinzinger, Daniel.....	H
Bartley, Charles.....	B	Rhode, William.....	H
Brinker, Jacob R.....	B	Bradly, Hugh.....	I
Whittaker, Abraham.....	B	Devins, George.....	I
Stackhouse, Samuel A.....	C	Hasset, John.....	I
Lambert, Isaac L.....	C	Sellers, Milton.....	K
Lilly, Amandus.....	D	Mohr, Adolph.....	K
Harfeter, Gottlieb.....	D	Kinsey, Robert.....	K
Erwin, William.....	G	Lee, Joseph.....	K
Echline, John.....	G	Baker, James.....	K

*Died of Disease.*

Slack, William P.....	A	Widdifield, Thomas B.....	A
Bertles, Jacob.....	A	Smith, Mordecai B.....	A
Sellers, Gilbert S.....	A	Gallagher, Henry.....	A
Fryling, Wilson.....	A	Darling, Edwin S.....	B
Angeny, Abraham.....	A	Fell, Henry.....	B
Arnold, Charles.....	A	Baker, Zachariah.....	C
Reynolds, William A.....	A	Smith, Tunis K.....	C
Malsbury, William.....	A	Hilborn, John.....	C



Silvey, Abraham.....	C	Cosner, Thomas.....	G
McGuigan, James.....	C	Lerch, John.....	G
Mullen, Joseph.....	C	Merceleous, Henry.....	G
Marlin, George.....	C	Bower, Anthony.....	H
Smith, Joseph B. ....	D	Crossley, Chester B.....	H
Slight, Charles.....	D	Gallager, James.....	H
Haverstraw, William.....	D	Harner, John.....	H
Heiste, Joseph.....	D	Kennedy, Jonathan.....	H
Dilliard, Henry.....	D	Morris, James.....	H
Croman, Jacob.....	D	Roland, William.....	H
Naan, James.....	D	Wolf, Elias.....	H
Thompson, Aaron.....	D	Woodward, Thomas.....	H
Beam, Oliver W.....	E	Boiles, Theodore.....	I
Clemens, Samuel.....	E	Dunn, Thomas.....	I
Gamble, Charles.....	E	Osborne, Charles.....	I
Griesimer, Henry.....	E	Ortl, Jackson H.....	I
Henn, Jacob.....	E	Seller, Frederick.....	I
Schwartz, John.....	E	Shearer, Henry.....	I
Scarborough, Thomas.....	E	Boyer, Israel.....	I
Moyer, George.....	E	Wiggins, Charles.....	I
Bailey, Edgar S.....	E	Kramer, Charles R.....	K
Blutstine, Christian.....	F	Lee, William.....	K
Hibbs, Stephen G.....	F	Street, Benjamin F.....	K
Harford, James.....	F	Webster, Charles W.....	K
Parsons, William E.....	F	William Hart.....	F
Worthington, Frank C.....	F	Johnson, George.....	—
Blaker, Joseph.....	G		

*Discharged on Account of Wounds.*

Connard, Andrew.....	B	Frankenfield, William.....	G
Clymer, James.....	B	Wiggins, Lawrence.....	G
Donahue, Michael.....	B	Kuhn, Adam.....	G
Johnson, Edward R.....	B	O'Daniel, John.....	G
Wood, Joseph.....	B	Warford, Amos.....	G
Campbell, John B.....	C	Blake, Andrew.....	I
Gano, Stephen.....	C	Bickle, Levi M.....	I
Slack, James L.....	C	Carman, Wm. P.....	I
Heller, Nathaniel A.....	D	Solley, Cornelius.....	I
Martin, John.....	E	Ruby, Fernandus.....	I
Carter, David.....	F	Detwiler, Henry.....	K
Stokes, John.....	F	Stapler, William.....	K
Anderson, Joseph.....	G	Arrison, Thomas.....	K
Boileau, William.....	G	Kern, Christian.....	K
Lear, Henry.....	G	Reeves, Andrew C.....	K
Lowder, Fenton.....	G		

*Discharged on Account of Physical Disability*

Algard, Jeremiah.....	A	Raisner, Wm. A.....	A
Bauer, John.....	A	Reamer, Joseph.....	A
Ent, George O.....	A	Stirk, Oliver K.....	A
Eckhardt, Charles.....	A	Stalcup, Wm. H.....	A
Fryling, Levi.....	A	Straub, Joseph H.....	A
Groom, Ramsey C.....	A	Titus, Wm.....	A
Hanafius, Jacob.....	A	Toy, Charles.....	A
Hubbard, Nathaniel.....	A	Torpy, Patrick.....	A
Jacobs, John.....	A	Wright, Leonard.....	A
Morgan, Wm. A.....	A	Walton, John.....	A
Nice, John...2.....	A	Bryan, Lycurgus.....	B

Batchelor, Franklin.....	B	Race, Aaron.....	E
Dean, Henry C.....	B	Rush, John.....	E
Donahoe, John.....	B	Brown, Thomas J.....	F
Flack, Harman.....	B	Burton, Anthony.....	F
Garner, George W.....	B	Britton, Henry.....	F
Garner, Amos.....	B	Cook, John G.....	F
Johnson, George W.....	B	Chew, Benjamin.....	F
Leister, Michael.....	B	English, Joseph.....	F
Myers, John G.....	B	Hickman, Joseph.....	F
Donahoe, John.....	B	Kinney, Simon.....	F
Price, Frederick.....	B	Hibbs, Paschal C.....	F
Humphrey, John.....	B	Leech, Wm. W.....	F
Parks, Samuel C.....	B	Leech Joseph J.....	F
Smith, Andrew.....	B	Kains, John.....	F
Tomlinson, David B.....	B	Guie, George Q.....	F
Wood, Wm.....	B	Parsons, John.....	F
Worthington, Wm. B.....	B	Tomlinson, George.....	F
Clark, Stephen.....	C	Worthington, Samuel C.....	F
Dungan, James B.....	C	Walker, Wm. B.....	F
Hellings, Jonathan.....	C	Connell, Hugh O.....	F
Kitchen, Harrison.....	C	Bartleson, Samuel P.....	G
Moss, Mahlon H.....	C	Black, Zeanas.....	G
Naylor, Houston.....	C	Donnatt, Charles.....	G
Nice, Peter.....	C	Davis, George.....	G
Obendoffer, Jacob.....	C	Faust, Michael.....	G
Roberts, Crispin.....	C	Hammerstone, Andrew.....	G
Roberts, Wm. R.....	C	Kohl, Charles.....	G
Ryan, Francis G.....	C	Leedom, Norris.....	G
Rice, George W.....	C	Lear, Jordan.....	G
McCloskey, John.....	C	Morgan, John M.....	G
Stafford, John.....	C	Nibbick, Wm.....	G
Scarborough, Rutlege.....	C	Weaver, William.....	G
Althouse, Henry.....	D	Brayley, James.....	H
Brown, Wm. M.....	D	Bower, Thomas.....	H
Breiner, Charles M.....	D	Buderwack, Samuel.....	H
Booz, John N.....	D	Helms, Aaron.....	H
Diehl, Jacob.....	D	Hinman, John.....	H
Farren, Wm.....	D	Jackson, John J.....	H
Franks, Wm. D.....	D	Maicks, Edward.....	H
Hulit, Wm. C.....	D	Mirom, Charles.....	H
Miller, Francis.....	D	McDermott, William.....	H
McNamee, Peter.....	D	Nunnemacher, Moses.....	H
Osbach, Howard.....	D	Potts, Aaron.....	H
Rooks, Charles.....	D	Renneberger, Henry.....	H
Snyder, Wm. R.....	D	Schlegel, Charles.....	H
Tomlinson, Thomas F.....	E	Saylor, George.....	H
Beck Harry.....	E	Worthington, John.....	H
Biddle, Cephas R.....	E	Walter, Jonathan.....	H
Coar, Francis L.....	E	Adams, Lewis.....	I
Deamer, Elias.....	E	Campbell, Robert W.....	I
Hilt, Joel C.....	E	Fritz, William.....	I
Larrison, Joseph H.....	E	Franck, William H.....	I
Frederick, Henry.....	E	Foxhole, Enoch.....	I
Longenour, Levi.....	E	Hass, Henry.....	I
Jordan, Jacob.....	E	Henderson, Thomas.....	I
Morris, George.....	E	Hogeland, Richard.....	I
Nicholas, Tobias.....	E	Hungrage, William.....	I



Albright, Stephen E.....	Band.	Bingham, Jonathan.....	K
Jeuks, Michael E., Non-Com. Staff.		Chambers, Thomas P.....	K
Rogers, James M., " "		Cooper, John J.....	K
Hall, Hiram.....	I	Hill, Joseph H.....	K
Kleimer, Alfred.....	I	Hutchinson, John.....	K
Moor, Charles.....	I	Miller, Thomas P.....	K
Peak, John W.....	I	Neild, Thomas C.....	K
Spence, James.....	I	Newbold, Tobias.....	K
Sands, Ezra.....	I	Raab, Barclay.....	K
Thompson, Hamilton.....	I	Wagner, William.....	K
Wampole, Sassaman.....	I	Winner, Joseph, Non-Com. Staff.	
Modock, Philip.....	I	Whipple, Clement R., " "	
White, Harrison.....	I	Tayman, James.....	—
Brown, George.....	K	Walden, Alexander.....	—
Bennett, Moses.....	K	Fenton, George.....	—
Boonmann, Lewis.....	K		

*Discharged by Civil Process.*

Bennett, Wm. S.....	B	Foley, John.....	D
Worthington, John J.....	B	Sacks, Oliver.....	D

*Wounded Returned to Duty.*

Bartleman, Fredolm.....	A	Wambold, Jeremiah.....	D
Fryling, Isaac S.....	A	Lex, William.....	E
Gallagher, James.....	A	Wentzell, E. Samuel.....	E
Gares, James.....	A	Comley, Jackson P.....	F
Horn, Pierson A.....	A	Doan, Marmaduke R.....	F
Martindale, William Y.....	A	Higham, Albert.....	F
Naylor, William H.....	A	McEuen, William.....	F
Swartley, Henry.....	A	Toy, Charles T.....	F
Whitcraft, Andrew.....	A	Trencher, John.....	F
Widdifield, Thomas.....	A	Stokes, John.....	F
Wigton, John J.....	A	Stackhouse, Hutchinson J.....	F
Connard, William.....	B	Spearing, Joshua.....	F
Holmes, John B.....	B	Rhodes, Garrett.....	F
Millis, Edwin S.....	B	Burk, Philip.....	G
Porter, Charles L.....	B	Burk, William.....	G
Rapp, Markley.....	B	Beatty, James.....	G
Swartly, Philip D.....	B	Conner, George S.....	G
Worthington, William B.....	B	Carroll, Patrick.....	G
White, Jarvis.....	B	Collins, J. A.....	G
Cooper, Jordan.....	C	Purcell, Frederick.....	G
Eastburn, Harrison.....	C	Curly, Timothy.....	G
Stiner, William H.....	C	Feely, William.....	G
Titus, Elias.....	C	Frankenfield, David.....	G
Antrim, William H. II.....	D	Ging, Charles.....	G
Geary, George C.....	D	Gray, Wilson.....	G
Godshall, Levi S.....	D	Harton, Farrel C.....	G
Keiser, Charles W.....	D	Hammerstone, Andrew.....	G
Kreader, Daniel.....	D	Hofford, Martin.....	G
Miller, Evan.....	D	Howard, Samuel.....	G
Musselman, John B.....	D	Myers, Jacob.....	G
Mace, Samuel.....	D	McNelly, James.....	G
Thomas, Silas.....	D	Mundy, John.....	G
Trumbower, Hilary.....	D	Nicholas, Martin.....	G
Thompson, Aaron.....	D	Pursell, Hiram W.....	G
Rohr, John.....	D	Robinson, Isaac J.....	G
Wright, Samuel.....	D	Strouse, John.....	G

Warford, Philip.....	G	Craven, Elwood.....	K
Althouse, John W.....	H	Cadwallader, Timothy.....	K
Enix, Charles.....	H	Blaker, Lewis.....	K
Housum, John P.....	H	Dimming, Benjamin S.....	K
Loeser, Thomas.....	H	Hare, George W.....	K
Moyer, George.....	H	Hartley, George E.....	K
Nichols, Charles.....	H	Glasgow, Theodore.....	K
Bertles, Andrew F.....	I	Hutchinson, John.....	K
Biddle, Joseph P.....	I	Hare, William.....	K
Hampton, Augustus.....	I	Jarrett, B. Frank.....	K
Deits, Amasa.....	I	Randall, Andrew V.....	K
O'Neil, Francis M.....	I	Rice, Simpson.....	K
Parmer, Adolphus H.....	I	Sherman, Christian.....	K
Rorer, William.....	I	Witham, J. Edward.....	K
Solley, William.....	I	Walton, Ely.....	K
Brown, Charles.....	K	Mattis, A. Frank.....	K
Bennett, Benjamin S.....	K	Wiley, William.....	K 106

*Taken Prisoners.*

Eckhardt, Lewis H.....	B	Glase, Jacob.....	E
Donahoe, Michael.....	B	Gamble, Charles.....	E
Heaney, William P.....	B	Harr, David.....	E
Mair, John.....	B	Heisler, Elias.....	E
Swartley, Philip D.....	B	Kohl, Henry H.....	E
Whittaker, Abraham.....	B	Knoll, Frederick.....	E
Robbins, William O.....	C	Kramer, Elwood.....	E
Ryan, Francis G.....	C	Lehnen, Frederick G.....	E
Leatherberry, Fenwick.....	D	Leibler, Adam.....	E
Rosenberger, Levi A.....	D	Livengood, Joseph.....	E
Shelly, Henry M.....	D	Logan, George.....	E
Enders, Andrew.....	E	Longenour, Josiah.....	E
Bickel, Christian.....	E	Longenour, Levi.....	E
Beck, Samuel H.....	E	Montgomery, John.....	E
Bissey, John.....	E	McGlothery, Charles.....	E
Brown, Francis M.....	E	McIntyre, William.....	E
Buck, Jerome.....	E	Price, John.....	E
Core, Francis L.....	E	Ricketts, William.....	E
Sigafoos, William.....	E	Shaw, Christian.....	E
Clemens, Samuel.....	E	Schwartz, John.....	E
Campman, Jacob.....	E	Shellenbeger, Levi.....	E
Coyle, Patrick.....	E	Shock, Henry.....	E
Campbell, Harrison G.....	E	Walker, William.....	E
Darrah, Charles.....	E	Hart, William.....	F
De Shaw, Francis.....	E	South, Merritt B.....	F
Devereaux, James.....	E	Erwin, William.....	G
Elf, Conrad.....	E	Higgins, Lawrence P.....	G
Fonash, John.....	E	McNelly, James.....	G
Fornoman, William.....	E	Strawbridge, William.....	H
Farrell, Aaron.....	E	Matlack, Jeremiah.....	I
3) Fisher, John.....	E	Lee, Joseph.....	K

*Missing in Action.*

Nicholas, Matthias.....	G	Feshner, John.....	D
Warford, Philip.....	G		

*Transferred to Invalid Corps.*

Gares, James.....	A	Ackerman, William.....	B
Wisler, John.....	A	Ganzev, James B.....	B

Faes, Jacob.....	D	Zimmerman, Michael.....	E
Prosser, David D.....	D	McEwen, William.....	F
Hartz, Henry B.....	H	Stackhouse, Hutchinson J.....	F
Miller, Benjamin.....	H	Toy, Charles T.....	F
Green, Aaron.....	E	Carver, Henry.....	I
Heisler, Elias.....	E	Cropley, John S.....	I
Price, John.....	E	Thatcher, John.....	K

*Discharged by Order of Secretary of War.*

Wagner, Henry.....	C
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*Transferred to 3d U. S. Cavalry.*

Campbell, Harrison.....	E
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*Drowned.*

Walter, Levi.....	A.	Folly Island beach, July, 1863.
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*Discharged by reason of Promotion to Commission in the regiment.*

Wallazz, Ed. A. Non-Com. Staff.		Allbertson, Benjamin.....	F
Fretz, Edwin.....	A	Taylor, Joseph.....	F
Laughlin J. McDonald.....	A	Holmes, Robert. Mon-Com. Staff.	
Haney, William P.....	B	Myers, Jacob.....	G
Middifield, Henry A.....	B	O'Connell, Peter.....	G
Michener, Charles T.....	C	Bitting, Charles A.....	H
Scarborough, Thomas B.....	C	Hechler, Charles A.....	H
Tyson, Julius B. Non-Com. Staff.		O'Neill, Francis M.....	I
Markley, Levi H.....	D	Williams, Joseph H.....	I
Shaffer, Wm. M.....	D	Cadwallader, Charles G.....	K
Glase, Jacob W.....	E	Craven, Elwood.....	K
Fox, James M.....	F		

*Discharged by reason of Promotion to Commission in Regular Army.*

Shindel, Jeremiah P.....	A
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*Discharged by reason of Promotion to Commission in 2d S. C. Col'd.*

Perry, Robert W.....	C	Ryan, Samuel P.....	C
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*Discharged by reason of enlistment in 2d S. C. Colored.*

Elliott, William R.....	C
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*Mustered out by Order of the War Department.*

Jobst, John C.....	Leader.	Reichart, Jacob.....	Band.
Cox, William.....	Band.	Rohs, William.....	"
Dankel, Samuel.....	"	Seip, William S.....	"
Druckenmiller, J. J. W.....	"	Spoenheimer, Lewis.....	"
Engleman, Sylvester.....	"	Tool, Henry S.....	"
Gallagher, Henry H.....	"	Tool, Albert S.....	"
Gorr, George H.....	"	Tool, Eugene T.....	"
Knauss, Harman S.....	"	Widrig, James H.....	"
Lewis, Joseph M.....	"	Knauss, Harrison E.....	"
Mann, John E.....	"		

CASUALTIES AND CHANGES AMONG COMMISSIONED OFFICERS.

*Killed in Action.*

E. S. McDowell,	H.,	2d Lt.,	May 31, 1862,	At Fair Oaks, Va.,
Philip Burke,	G.,	"	July 9, 1864,	John's Island, S. C.

## NAMES.

## RANK.

## REMARKS.

*Died of Wounds.*

John M. Gries, Major, June 13, 1862. Died at Phila. of wounds rec'd. at Fair Oaks, May 31, 1862.

*Wounded.*

W. W. H. Davis,	Col.,	May 31, 1862,	Fair Oaks, Va., in arm.
" "	"	July 6, 1864,	John's Island, S. C., hand.
Jas. R. Orem,	Capt.,	May 31, 1864,	Fair Oaks, Va., in foot.
J. Swartzlander,	"	" "	" " mouth.
J. E. Coreoran,	"	" "	" " abdomen.
D. B. Groff,	1st Lt.,	" 24, "	Seven Pines, Va., in side.
Jas. D. Hendrie,	Qr. Mr.,	" 31, "	Fair Oaks, Va., in arm.
G. W. Ashenfelter,	2d Lt.,	" "	" " ankle.
F. M. O'Neill,	"	" "	" " thigh.
Wm. F. Walter,	Capt.,	" "	" "
Theo. Kephart,	"	" "	Slightly wounded at Fair Oaks and on two other occasions.

*Taken prisoners.*

Edward M. Croll,	2d Lt. Co. E.,	Captured at Fair Oaks, Va., May 31, 1862.
Wm. T. Robinson,	Surgeon,	" John's Island S. C., July 4, 1865.

*Transferred.*

Wm. W. Marple,	Capt.,	July 3, 1863,	Appointed Lt. Col. 2d S. C. C. T.
Jas. M. Carver,	1st Lt.,	Apr. 15, 1863,	" Capt. 2d S. C. " "
Levi H. Markly,	2d Lt.,	Apr. 30, 1863,	" " " "
Jas. D. Hendrie,	Qr. Mr.,	Aug. 1, 1863,	Transf'd. to Invalid Corps.
D. W. Cadwallader,	Asst. Sur.,		Appointed Surg. 169 P. M.

*Resigned.*

John W. Nields, Lt. Col.,	G. W. Ashenfelter, 1st Lt.,
Wm. A. Peck, Surgeon,	Harry C. Kessler, "
Jas. R. Orem, Capt.,	Benj. Duncan, "
Wm. F. Walter, Capt.,	J. C. Robinson, 2d Lt.,
H. W. Heany, "	Benj. Albertson, "
W. S. Hendrie, Asst. Surgeon,	E. M. Croll, "
Richard Roberts, 1st Lt.,	F. M. O'Neill, "
Philip Hinkle, "	Wm. P. Heany, "
J. M. Beaus, 2d Lt.,	Joseph Taylor, "

*Resigned to accept Civil Appointment.*

Mahlon Yardley,	1st Lt.,	Appointed Provost Marshal 5th Dist. Penna.
Enos R. Artman,	"	App'd Asst. Prov. Marshal " "

*Promotions.*

## NAMES.

## RANK.

## REMARKS.

Thompson D. Hart,	Adjutant,	Promoted to Lt. Col. Aug. 8, 1862.
Edward L. Rogers,	Capt. Co. A.,	" " Major, July 1, 1862.
Wm. T. Robinson,	Ass't. Surg.,	" " Surg., July 25, 1862.
Henry W. Heany,	1st Lt.	Promoted to Captain.
Theo. Kephart,	"	" " " Sep. 16, 1862.
Diller B. Groff,	"	" " " "
J. McD. Laughlin,	Sergt.,	" " 1st Lt., Nov. 17, 1862,
		" " Capt. May 10, 1863.

NAME.	RANK.	REMARKS.
T. B. Scarborough,	Sergt.,	Promoted to 2d Lieut. Nov. 8, 1862.
Enos R. Artman,	2d Lt.	" " Capt. Dec. 11, 1863.
Thompson D. Hart,	"	" " 1st Lt. Dec. 24, 1861.
James D. Hendrie,	"	" " Adj. Oct. 11, 1861.
John H. McCoy,	"	" " Qr. Mast. Sep. 5, 1861.
George W. Ashenfelter,	"	" " 1st Lt. Sept. 16, 1862.
Matthias Lehnem,	1st Lt.	" " " Nov. 8, 1862.
Harry C. Hessler,	2d Lt.	" " Qr. Mast. July 32, 1863.
Edwin Fretz,	Sergt.	" " 1st Lieut.
" "		" " 2d Lt. May 12, 1852, to
Wm. P. Heany,	"	1st Lt. Dec. 11, 1863.
Edmund A. Wallazz,	Sergt. Major.,	" " 2d Lt. Sept. 16, 1862.
Chas. H. Bitting,	"	" " Adj. Oct. 1, 1862.
" "	"	" " 2d Lt. Nov. 17, 1862, to
Joseph Taylor,	"	1st Lt. Dec. 11, 1863.
Jacob Myers,	"	" " Nov. 8, 1862.
" "		" " Dec. 2, 1862, to
Francis M. O'Neill,	"	1st Lt. Dec. 17, 1863.
C. G. Cadwallader,	"	" " 2d Lt. Aug. 1, 1862.
" "		" " Dec. 12, 1862,
Julius B. Tyson,	Sergt. Major,	" " 1st Lt. Dec. 11, 1863.
Wm. M. Shaffer,	"	" " Dec. 11, 1863.
Jacob W. Glase,	"	" " Dec. 11, 1863.
Joseph H. Williams,	"	" " Dec. 11, 1863.
Levi H. Markley,	"	" " Jan. 6, 1864.
Robert Holmes,	Com. Sergt.,	" " 2d Lt. Dec. 24, 1861.
Elwood Craven,	Sergt.	" " Nov. 5, 1861.
H. A. Widdifield,	"	" " Jan. 16, 1864.
Chas. A. Heckler,	"	" " Jan. 16, 1864.
Peter O'Connell,	"	" " Jan. 16, 1864.
James M. Fox,	"	" " Jan. 16, 1864.
Jos. M. Wiatt,	"	" " Jan. 16, 1864.
Charles Michener,	"	" " Feb. 16, 1864.

*Appointed from civil life after the organization of the Regiment.*

J. Matthias Beans,	Appointed 2d Lt. Co. I. Dec. 18, 1861.
D. W. Cadwallader,	" Asst. Surgeon, Aug. 4, 1862.
W. Scott Hendrie,	" " Aug. 4, 1862.
Michael B. McAlear,	" " Jan. 30, 1863.
Platt E. Brush,	" " Mar. 17, 1863.

*Names of Enlisted Men of the 104th Pennsylvania Regiment Baptized by Chaplain Gries, during their term of Enlistment.*

1 Henry Swartley..... A	12 Charles Craven..... C
2 William Brown..... A	13 J. B. Musselman..... D
3 Jacob K. Charles..... A	14 Levi S. Gottshal..... D
4 William Naylor..... A	15 Henry Shelly..... D
5 Andrew Whitecroft..... A	16 Samuel T. Ball..... D
6 Charles Sweezy..... B	17 Henry Fisher..... D
7 Eleazer Beal..... B	18 Henry Kern..... D
8 G. W. Robinson..... B	19 David P. Cope..... D
9 A. S. Gehman..... B	20 William Morton..... D
10 Charles Beal..... B	21 Samuel C. Wright..... D
11 Samuel Silvey..... B	22 Wm. Fornoman..... E

23 Josiah Langenower.....	E	40 John P. Housum.....	H
24 Francis M. Brown.....	E	41 Aaron Helms.....	H
25 David Everett, Jr.....	F	42 Samuel N. Garren.....	I
26 L. J. W. Heelings.....	F	43 Seneca Beal.....	I
27 Theodore Hoff.....	F	44 Joseph Beal.....	I
28 John Crook.....	F	45 Anna Deitz.....	I
29 James White.....	F	46 Jacob Hoover.....	I
30 Wm. Barnhill.....	F	47 S. Marjorum.....	I
31 James Stone.....	F	48 Benj. S. Bennett.....	K
32 Hugh Martindale.....	F	49 Wm. Kinsey.....	K
33 Jeremiah Hulich.....	F	50 Isaiah Vanhorn.....	K
34 Jacob Kindey.....	F	51 John H. Hardy.....	K
35 Benj. N. Vamant.....	F	52 Benj. F. Land.....	K
36 Michael Young.....	G	53 Mahlon Smith.....	K
37 Joseph Cole.....	G	54 Theodore Geasgom.....	K
38 Henry Warford.....	G	55 Jacob S. Vorhees.....	K
39 Wm. S. Wagener.....	G	56 John Crocs.....	K

*Transferred to the Navy.*

John C. Smith.....		J. Williams.....	Co. K
John Lynn.....		Andrew Donaldson.....	A
Lewis Bohner.....	Co. C	George Fleming.....	I
Thomas Keely.....	"	William Brown.....	"
Patrick Fitzgerald.....	"	Charles Davis.....	C
Michael Canfield.....	G	Israel Faust.....	I
James Colclough.....	D	Henry Mairs.....	D
Richard Gardiner.....	"	George Lane.....	B
Edward Noonan.....	"	William Hogan.....	"
Michael Kane.....	"	Jacob Collins.....	K
George Clarke.....	"	J. Williams.....	D
William Sweeny.....	H	James Hawkins.....	"
William Duffy.....	"	John Charlton.....	"
Thomas Fogerty.....	"	Thomas Kyle.....	"
Thomas Murray.....	"	George Burns.....	H
Charles Richards.....	"	Thomas Fox.....	C
J. Simmons.....	"	Oliver Bellanny.....	"
Thomas Morgan.....	F	John Smith.....	"
J. Wilson.....	"	William Dortin.....	B
Edward O'Neil.....	"		

*Re-enlisted Veterans.*

James M. Fox, F,	Garret Rhoads, F,
Joseph Eastburn, F,	Frank J. Sanford, F,
James Erwin, F,	Wm. Barnhill, F,
Alfred Eastburn, F,	Merritt B. South, F,
Henry L. Leach, F,	John C. Nelson, F,
Thomas Simms, F,	Wm. Woodside, F,
John Dyer, F,	Landrum Larue, F,
Morris M. Leese, F,	Johnson Minster, F,
Jeremiah S. Hulick, F,	Wm. A. Rickey, F,
S. A. Martindell, F,	Benj. R. Vansant, F,
Reuben H. Krewson, F,	Theodore Hoff, F,
James Denahoe, F,	Wm. Reagan, F,
Jacob Kindey, F,	William Davis, F,



Man'g McConnell, F,  
 Michael Quinn, F,  
 Henry Mershon, F,  
 Louis Yeager, F,  
 Ambrose States, F,  
 H. A. Widdifield, B,  
 William Melick, B,  
 Eleazer Beal, B,  
 Charles Beal, B,  
 Markley Rapp, B,  
 Samuel Silvey, B,  
 James Silvey, B,  
 Wm. Vanhorn, B,  
 John Maier, B,  
 Sim. K. Overholt, B,  
 Wm. E. Johnson, B,  
 Rufus Stetler, B,  
 James Martin, D,  
 Evan Miller, D,  
 Jeremiah Wambold, D,  
 J. B. Musselman, D,  
 Christian Grossman, D,  
 Daniel Kleinsmith, D,  
 C. A. Heckler, H,  
 Joel Setley, Sergeant, H,  
 Clinton W. Seyfert, H,  
 George Bost, H,  
 James Toole, H,  
 John Paules, H,  
 Henry G. Hauch, H,  
 Charles S. Michener, C,  
 William H. Magee, C,  
 John J. Wigton, A,  
 Robert E. Benson, A,  
 Isaac L. Fryling, A,  
 Pearson A. Horne,  
 John Hultz, A,  
 Sylvester Kyle, A,  
 Charles Solliday, A,  
 Joseph Sands, A,  
 John L. Stokes, A,  
 Daniel Seifert, A,  
 Andrew J. C. Terry, A.

William Brown, A,  
 Joseph T. Hart, A,  
 Samuel N. Garren, I,  
 Jas. Macdonald, I,  
 William Rorer, I,  
 Seneca Beal, I,  
 Nathaniel Gamble, I,  
 John Park, I,  
 William Stroup, I,  
 George Hertig, Musician, I,  
 Andrew J. Bartels, I,  
 William Gaddes, I,  
 Hantz Glaushouse, I,  
 Augustus Hampton, I,  
 Enoch Russell, I,  
 Peter Hunter, I,  
 George W. Hare, K,  
 Wm. B. Hare, K,  
 Jacob Settle, K,  
 Daniel Thomas, K,  
 Benj. S. Bennett, K,  
 Michael Cummings, K,  
 Charles D. Vanhorn, K,  
 John E. Witham, K,  
 Frc. Frankenfield, G,  
 Michael F. Young, G,  
 Am'ds Laubert, G,  
 Alexander Cochran, G,  
 Wm. Morgan, G,  
 Wm. J. Walker, E,  
 Wm. McIntyre, E,  
 George Logan, E,  
 Wm. Ricketts, E,  
 Adam Leibler, E,  
 Joseph M. Livengood, E,  
 Isaac Wierman, E,  
 John Daniel, E,  
 Wm. Cigenfoos, E,  
 Elias Welch, E,  
 Samuel Young, E,  
 James Devreux, E,  
 George Robinson, B,













